

**BYRON'S *DON JUAN*:
FORMS OF PUBLICATION, MEANINGS, AND MONEY**

A Dissertation

by

JAE YOUNG PARK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2011

Major Subject: English

Byron's *Don Juan*:

Forms of Publication, Meanings, and Money

Copyright 2011 Jae Young Park

**BYRON'S *DON JUAN*:
FORMS OF PUBLICATION, MEANINGS, AND MONEY**

A Dissertation

by

JAE YOUNG PARK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Terence Hoagwood
Committee Members,	Margaret Ezell
	Clinton Machann
	James M. Rosenheim
Head of Department,	Nancy Warren

December 2011

Major Subject: English

ABSTRACT

Byron's *Don Juan*: Forms of Publication, Meanings, and Money. (December 2011)

Jae Young Park, B.A., Sungkyunkwan University;

M.A., Texas A&M University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Terence Hoagwood

This dissertation examines Byron's *Don Juan* and his attitude towards profits from the copyright money for publishing his poems. Recent studies on *Don Juan* and Byron have paid great attention to the poem especially in terms of the author's status as an unprecedented noble literary celebrity. Thus the hermeneutics of the poem has very often had a tendency to bind itself within the biographical understanding of the poet's socio-political practices. It is true that these studies are meaningful in that they highlighted and reconsidered the significance of the author's unique life so as to illustrate biographical and historical contexts of this Romantic text. Admitting the significance of the biographical approach, however, the current dissertation also argues that an interpretation of a literary work should consider a number of outside influences that affect the meaning of a text, which is in and of itself a creation of historical, political, economic, and material aspects of a specific time and place, not merely of an individual author.

After the theoretical background suggested in Chapter I, Chapter II emphasizes the history of the publication of the first two cantos and investigates John Murray's

publishing practices. Chapter III addresses some of the external influences on the reading of *Don Juan* to show that non-political content of the early five cantos came to be treated as politically radical by the voluntary and involuntary association of Byron and his work with radical publishers such as Leigh Hunt and William Hone. Chapter IV is a study of the new cantos of *Don Juan* (from the sixth canto). Focusing on Byron's political stance which gradually developed from his early liberalism into a more radical activism, this chapter explores Percy Shelley's influence on Byron's political ideas, the new cantos of *Don Juan*, and Byron's use of radical satire to instigate the fight against tyranny. Chapter V investigates Byron's attitude towards the profits he earned from the copyright of his poems to argue that Byron's attitude towards his brain-money gradually changed from an ambiguous position to a strong insistence on obtaining what he perceived to be fair payments for his poems.

DEDICATION

*For my father, Hee-Yong Park, for his patience and support,
my mother, the late Chun-Ok Lee, for her everlasting love,
and my fiancée, Hyeon-Sil Geum, for her true love. . . .*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have completed this dissertation without the guidance of the following mentors. I want to give special thanks to Dr. Terence Hoagwood, my committee chair, who has guided my studies for almost ten years. I also want to thank my committee members for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research. Finally, I want to thank Il-Yeong Kim, professor in Department of English Language and Literature at Sungkyunkwan University, who has been a wonderful mentor since 1993.

Peter Cochran, John Beckett, and other members in the International Byron Society kindly answered my questions concerning Byron's financial situations. I appreciate their informative replies. Thanks also go to my colleagues, the department faculty, and staff for making my time at Texas A&M University a great experience. In particular, Dongshin Yi, Byoung Chun Min, and Yonggi Kim constantly encouraged me during difficult times. Rochelle Bradley read and commented on my dissertation a number of times. I also want to thank Paulette Leshner for helping me with a number of administrative affairs quickly and effectively. I also want to extend my gratitude to The Melbern G. Glasscock Center for Humanities Research at Texas A&M for the financial support for my archival research in Britain in 2009. My sincere thanks to the librarians and curators including Boyd J. Conerway at Evans Library, Texas A&M, David McClay and Rachel Beatty at the John Murray Archive in the National Library of Scotland, and the librarians in the upper reading room of the Bodleian Library in Oxford University.

Last but not least, I am deeply indebted to my family and fiancée in Korea.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BinE* Samuel Chew, *Byron in England: His Fame and After-fame*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.
- Biography* Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron: A Biography*. 3 vols. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1957.
- BL The British Library, London.
- BLJ* *Lord Byron's Letters and Journals*. Ed. Leslie A. Marchand. 13 vols. London: John Murray, 1973-94.
- BOD The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- CPW* *Lord Byron. The Complete Poetical Works*. Ed. Jerome J. McGann. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1980-92.
- EBSR* Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, A Satire*. London: Printed for James Cawthorn, 1809.
- "Impact" William St Clair, "The Impact of Byron's Writings: An Evaluative Approach." *Byron: Augustan and Romantic*. Ed. Andrew Rutherford. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. 1-25.
- LJM* Andrew Nicholson, ed. *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007.
- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- RNRP* William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Smiles Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and*

*Correspondence of the late John Murray, with An Account of the Origin
and Progress of the House, 1768-1843.* 2 vols. London: John Murray,
1891.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION: “GO, LITTLE BOOK—GO THY WAYS”	1
II SIZE MATTERS: “THE CURSED UNSALEABLE SIZE” COMPLICATING THE PUBLICATION HISTORY OF <i>DON JUAN</i>	11
III RADICALIZING THE EARLY CANTOS OF <i>DON JUAN</i> : LEIGH HUNT AND WILLIAM HONE	32
3.1. Early Reviews vs. Leigh Hunt Advocating Byron.....	32
3.2. William Hone Exploiting <i>Don Juan</i>	49
IV “THROW AWAY THE SCABBARD”: <i>DON JUAN</i> , A RADICAL TEXT	83
4.1. The Radical Influence of Percy Bysshe Shelley on the Writing of <i>Don Juan</i>	85
4.2. Byron’s Radical Use of Satire	102
4.3. Byron’s Radical Potential.....	110
4.4. Byron’s New Experiments with <i>Don Juan</i>	121

CHAPTER	Page
V “REMIT MY BRAIN-MONEY”: BYRON’S CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARDS COPYRIGHT MONEY	147
5.1. Byron in England: His Troubles and Ambivalent Attitude Regarding Copyright Money	150
5.2. Byron Abroad: Becoming a Professional Poet Writing for Money	180
VI CONCLUSION	212
WORKS CITED	219
APPENDIX A	237
APPENDIX B	239
VITA	241

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 The back-matter advertisement of Byron's poems Murray put forth in the market in November 1816. (From <i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third</i> (1816).....	28
Figure 2 The back-matter advertisement of Byron's poems Murray put forth in the market in April 1818. (From <i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Forth</i> (1818)	29
Figure 3 Benbow's Catalogue of Cheap Books (1823)	116

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 A partial excerpt from William St Clair's "Rising retail price of the long romantic poem (boards, before rebinding)" in <i>RNRP</i> 200	22
Table 2 Sales figures of Byron's works after his departure from London before the publication of <i>Don Juan</i> (numbers are from <i>RNRP</i> 587-88).....	24
Table 3 "Accounts, 1822-1824, by John Hunt for works of Lord Byron"	143
Table 4 The Newstead Sale, 1817-19	187
Table 5 Lord Byron's Debts in 1819	193

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: “GO, LITTLE BOOK—GO THY WAYS”

“Go, little book, from this my solitude!

I cast thee on the waters—go thy ways!”

(*Don Juan* 1. 222)¹

This dissertation is a study of Lord Byron’s *Don Juan* that Jerome McGann emphasizes as being “the most important poem published in England between 1667 (when *Paradise Lost* was issued) and 1850 (when *The Prelude* finally appeared in print)” (*CPW* 5: xvii). Both during Byron’s lifetime in the British Romantic period and after his death in the Victorian period, this unfinished serial publication by an unprecedented noble celebrity drew enormous attention from all classes of the reading public, not only in Britain but also from all around the world, engendering a number of unfavorable literary reviews, pirated editions, and false imitations and continuations.² Indeed, like the poet himself, *Don Juan* was a real sensation that shook the society and culture in England as a whole because of its immoral, blasphemous, and radical contents.

This dissertation follows the style of the 7th edition of *MLA Handbook for the Writers of Research Papers*.

The permission to quote all the manuscript resources in this dissertation has been granted by the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

¹ All citations of *Don Juan* will be given by canto and stanza number.

² Concerning these false imitations and continuations, see *BinE*. Regarding the reception of Byron in Europe, see Richard A. Cardwell, *The Reception of Byron in Europe*.

Focusing primarily upon the publication history of *Don Juan*, this dissertation investigates the hermeneutics of a literary text that can surely be affected by a variety of textual and non-textual factors such as the different forms of publication and their influences, the critical and public reception, the politics of the publishing business which affected the production of Byron's books, and many other social, political, cultural, and economic factors.³ Because a literary work is not a simple production by a single author but is rather a creation by multiple meaning-generating agents involved in its creation, publication, distribution, consumption, and other procedures in a work's life, it is critical for literary scholars to pay attention not only to the text *per se* but also to other non-literary elements. Thus, this study will consider these non-literary elements seriously as a means to show, more generally, the significance of these various elements in creating meaning through the production of a text and, more particularly, the dynamics of meaning formation in *Don Juan* (1819-1824), a masterpiece in the British Romantic literature.

The title and epigraph of this chapter are derived from the concluding lines of the famous first canto of *Don Juan*, a text with which Byron had been engaged from 1818 until his death in 1824, but these lines were also, as Byron confesses immediately following the lines, the concluding lines of Robert Southey's *The Lay of the Laureate*

³ Here, I use the two literary terms, *texts* and *books*, in distinctive ways. By the former, I mean a collection of words created by an author, and the latter the physical books that contain the texts. In this distinction lies a significant variation of meanings of a literary work, which are affected by still other non-literary elements. More simply put, along with a number of bibliographical scholars, I emphasize that the literary meanings of texts can be decided by the physical forms of a literary work very often.

(1816).⁴ These very short lines, however, address a number of significant points that this dissertation is going to explore further. Simply put, these lines point towards two vital concepts in the creation and the consumption of literary works: the physical forms of the publication of literary products and authors' expectations and anxieties about their reception. Although Byron wanted to be involved in the publication process of his own poems—he would give specific directions to his publisher concerning what to bind together in a book, when he wanted his specific works to be published, and other minute details regarding the contents of his works—it seems that he knew that there were clear limitations for him in controlling the reception of his own works and the meanings of them as well. Therefore, even though he borrows the idea of his book going its own way from his archenemy's work, Byron maintained it as his own belief with regard to the reception and destiny of his works among critical and public readers.⁵

Particularly, the reading public in the 1810s and 1820s, when most of Byron's works became available in the literary marketplace, was rapidly growing in size and was more protean in its character for a number of reasons including more accessible

⁴ "L'Envoy" is the last stanza of Southey's *The Lay of the Laureate* (1816):

Go, little Book; from this my solitude,
I cast thee on the waters:--go thy ways!
And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,
The World will find thee, after many days.
Be it with thee according to thy worth:--
Go, little Book! in faith I send thee forth.

⁵ A letter dated Nov. 11, 1818, written to John Cam Hobhouse, suggests the reason for Byron's hostility toward Southey. Byron wrote, "The Son of a Bitch [Southey] on his return from Switzerland two years ago—said that Percy Shelley and I 'had formed a League of Incest and practiced our precepts with & c.'—he lied like a rascal—for they *were not Sisters*—one being Godwin's daughter by Mary Wollstonecraft—and the other the daughter of the present Mrs. G[odwin] by a *former* husband" (*BLJ* 4: 76). All quotations of Byron's letters are drawn from Leslie Marchand, *Byron's Letters and Journals (BLJ)*. For more about the relationship between Byron and Southey, see Peter Cochran, *Byron and Bob: Lord Byron's Relationship with Robert Southey*.

education, which improved the literacy rate, and the technological developments in the printing industry, which allowed more readily available books at cheaper prices. This change in the structure of readership also affected the interpretation of any given literary work, which is a creation, first, by an author, but which also has its own life detached from the author's original intentions in meanings and expectations once it is thrown into the literary marketplace. From then on, the meanings of a literary work are largely dependent upon the reader, the primary meaning-maker of what is being read rather than the author who brings it into the world. However, this sort of old-fashioned reader-response theory can hardly cover all the complex mechanism of the interpretation of a literary work, which is in and of itself a product of a variety of historical, cultural, social, political, economic, and many other determinants as emphasized already. Or, in other words, it is true that "Every text that leaves its author's hands takes on a life of its own" as Tanselle asserts (87).

Thus, by foregrounding the theoretical implications of these two lines from *Don Juan* at the outset of the examination of Byron's works within these various contexts of nineteenth-century Britain, this dissertation calls attention to several different and essential literary theories that can suggest diverse ways of reading Byron's works, while focusing on his masterpiece, *Don Juan* (1819-1824). Jane Stabler stresses the need for taking advantage of multiple theories of "different disciplinary perspectives"⁶ to read Byron's works by arguing that "Byron's writing resists the totalizing discourse of any

⁶ Leslie Howsam emphasizes this approach in his *Old Books & New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Books and Print Culture*.

one theoretical model” (17). In that vein, several influential literary critics have pioneered and developed textual and bibliographical scholarship and theories, combined with a new historicist approach, in the interpretation of literary works from the British Romantic period, including Thomas Tanselle, Donald McKenzie, Jerome McGann, Paul Magnuson, and Terence Hoagwood to name a few.⁷

In the first place, Tanselle’s primary interests as a textual critic are well demonstrated in *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (1989). Among many of the critical arguments in the field of textual criticism, special attention is paid, in his book, to the reproduction of the texts of documents and the reconstruction of the texts of works, as the book’s table of contents succinctly outlines. This dissertation makes use of Tanselle’s approach and applies it to the reading of Byron’s works in different hands and various circumstances or “locations” (to borrow Magnuson’s word). That is, the collaboration of different processes in determining the hermeneutics of a text, such as writing, publishing, distributing, reviewing, and the influence of different versions of a text will be taken into serious consideration. At the same time, both the independence of a text once it is detached from its original creator’s hands by publication and the reconstruction of the meaning of a text by non-literary factors will be carefully studied. Therefore, it is needless to say that we should deal with a text as “social and historical products” as McGann insists in *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (3). We, as professional readers of literary works—which are, to a great degree, the productions

⁷ For more on these critics’ theoretical scholarship, see Thomas G. Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*; Jerome McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation*; Paul Magnuson, *Reading Public Romanticism*; and Terence Hoagwood, *Politics, Philosophy and the Production of Romantic Texts*.

of any given historical time—could learn far more about the history that has led to our own times than by simply trying to read out the meanings in a closed text as deconstructionists have done.

McGann's perspective, highlighting that "the critical study of such products must be grounded in a socio-historical analytic," bears critical importance in the examination of Byron's works on the ground that Romantic poetry, as McGann stresses following Heinrich Heine's view, is fully charged with the ideology of the times (*Romantic Ideology* 3). In case of *Don Juan*, we can point out that its radical, revolutionary spirit is one of the important ideological representations of nineteenth-century Britain. However, the ideology of poetry does not transcend the historical realms of time and place, so "the circumstance of publication *always* bears upon literary meaning" and modifies its original hermeneutics (McGann, *Byron and Romanticism* 77), resulting in what Donald Reiman calls "'the cumulative effective' of the work" (qtd. in McGann, *Byron and Romanticism* 86). For these and other reasons, not only the textual and physical variations of the texts/books and contexts of reading but also the socio-political and cultural circumstances should be considered when reading such Romantic texts as Byron's.

Furthermore, the significance and implications of different forms of print publications, such as periodicals, pamphlets, books, etc., should not be overlooked, as Hoagwood argues that "[a material] book is a bearer of meanings in more ways than one" and "differences in material form are never . . . indifferent to questions of meaning" (*Politics* 150, 101). Likewise, different physical forms of publication of a literary work

very often generate significantly dissimilar meanings, as will be shown in chapter III in the analysis and comparison of the authoritative and the pirated editions of Byron's *Don Juan*. Accordingly, this study pays attention to these different forms and "locations" of publication.⁸ Adding to these assumptions, I will also emphasize that literary scholars should not ignore the fact that economic logic always strongly operates on and can even determine the destiny of the production of an author's work in print. In this respect, it should be a critical prerequisite to consider the material aspects of the publication as well as its textual contents when interpreting and understanding literary works, which are "both products and functional components of social and political formations" (Brannigan 3). Moreover, we should not forget the fact that the author, the publishing industry, the literary market, and the critical and public readers are all meaning-generating agents.⁹ And they are especially so when it comes to Romantic books of poems that are replete with historical, cultural, and ideological representations, which are, again, time and place specific.

The current dissertation is composed of four major parts. After this introduction, Chapter II, entitled "Size Matters," examines the overall process of the publication of *Don Juan* (particularly the first volume containing the first and second cantos), various issues surrounding the physical forms of the publication, and the complex reception of

⁸ Many critics have paid attention to this point, including Hoagwood, *Politics*, Hoagwood and Ledbetter, "Colour'd Shadows": *Contexts in Publishing, Printing, and Reading Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers*, and Paul Magnuson, *Reading Public Romanticism*.

⁹ This socio-economic meaning in the construction of texts is well demonstrated by Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Baker. For more detailed analysis of this theory, see Howsam 36, which provides Adams and Baker's diagram from "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*.

the work. Murray's publishing practices and policies are investigated especially regarding the sizes of the publications that he made available between 1810 and 1831, the time period that Robert Bent's *London Catalogue* (1831) covers, because of Murray's decision to publish the first volume of *Don Juan* as an expensive quarto-sized edition. The high price of the first installment of the poem put serious restrictions on the public's access to the long-awaited literary product of the handsome national celebrity, making it a fashionable luxury item available only to a wealthy few. The sale of this sumptuous quarto edition reveals the unequal access to such cultural items in general, and more particularly we can see how easily and rapidly alternative outlets for both publishers and customers could emerge. A number of radical publishers thereby joined the *Don Juan* market, greatly complicating the history of the publication of the poem by publishing not a few piratical editions and false imitations throughout the British Romantic and Victorian periods.¹⁰ Indeed, it becomes clear throughout this chapter that Murray's decision to publish the first volume of *Don Juan* in an expensive quarto-sized edition, even though it had initially disgruntled some customers for its exorbitant price, was the most significant cause for the complicated but rich publication history of Byron's greatest masterpiece and the expansion of the readership of *Don Juan*. Lastly, this chapter investigates the oppressive mood of the socio-political environment of the time in and around 1819, the year of the publication of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*. Murray in particular, as the licensed publisher of the poem, was in the difficult position

¹⁰ As Felluga states, "[p]irated duodecimo editions of Byron's works, distributed by working-class publishers, were so successful in disseminating Byron's poetry in the teens and twenties" in the following years, and "because of this rampant dissemination, even Friedrich Engels was led famously to remark in 1845 that 'it is the workers who are most familiar with the poetry of Shelley and Byron'" (91).

of introducing the arguably immoral and seditious first cantos into a literary market which was then under serious government censorship, a position made more difficult by the radical reception of the book.

Chapter III, “Radicalizing the Early Cantos of *Don Juan*,” explores the critical reception of the early cantos of *Don Juan* in the literary periodicals that sparked a sensation in English society in general, not only in the literary realm. From the outset, a number of literary reviews poured out fierce attacks on the poem and its author due to the immoral and blasphemous contents of the poem, but these reviews were hugely influential on the public reception of the poem in its initial stages, which in turn greatly affected the direction of the later stages of reception. This chapter also argues that the early cantos (the first through fifth cantos) of *Don Juan* do not have much that can be called “politically radical” judging from its contents alone, in part because the most obviously politically charged contents of the poem, the dedication and the preface to the poem, were not available to its readers when the first two volumes of *Don Juan*, which I call the early cantos, were published. Nevertheless, even from the first volume, this poem was treated as politically radical due to Byron’s voluntary or involuntary associations especially with such radical publishers as Leigh Hunt and William Hone. Therefore, this chapter considers how the non-political contents of the poem came to be treated as politically radical and how meanings of literary works can be altered by numerous factors other than strictly literary ones. For this, Byron’s relationship with Leigh Hunt and Hunt’s advocacy of Byron’s works in his reviews are examined, and Hone’s role in the reconstruction of the meanings of the original *Don Juan* through his

review and forgery edition are closely examined to argue that he significantly contributed to the political image-making of Byron as a radical poet.

Chapter IV, “Throw Away the Scabbard,” is primarily a study of the later cantos of *Don Juan* (beginning with the sixth canto). Arguing that Byron’s political stance gradually began to develop into a more radical activism that he had refused for a long time, this chapter examines Percy Shelley’s influence on Byron’s political ideas and his poems, Byron’s use of radical satire in his later cantos of *Don Juan*, and his new experiments with the content and the publication of the poem. Reading the later cantos of *Don Juan* as radical political propaganda instigating fight against tyranny, this chapter will show that Byron and *Don Juan* enter a new phase.

Chapter V, “Remit My Brain-Money,” explores Byron’s changing attitude towards the profits from his literary works. This chapter will be a meaningful contribution to Byron scholarship because this is the first study to focus especially on the copyright issues concerning Byron’s works in connection with his changing financial conditions. By highlighting Byron’s financial difficulties and his professional stance concerning the literature trade, this chapter aims to demystify the Byronic myth of his aristocratic nonchalance towards monetary issues. Here, Byron’s literary career is roughly divided into two periods, before and after his departure from England in 1816. During the first period, I argue, Byron showed an ambiguous attitude towards the financial rewards from his poems, but this attitude drastically changed in the second period after his departure from England.

CHAPTER II

SIZE MATTERS: THE “CURSED UNSALEABLE SIZE” COMPLICATING THE PUBLICATION HISTORY OF *DON JUAN*

When the first two cantos of *Don Juan* were published anonymously on July 15, 1819, it was not a little book in a physical sense, despite Byron’s suggestion of such in the lines used as the epigraph of the previous chapter. As a matter of fact, it was an expensive large quarto edition out of reach of most of purchasers who would not have sufficient finances for such a purchase. Over time, however, this notorious book would become more widely available and affordable as it was eventually transformed, through different prices, sizes, and versions, into a very thin and cheap edition that included illustrations fit for young readers later in the 1860s, as we can see, for example, in John Dicks’s edition.¹¹ More significantly, these smaller, cheaper editions targeted different audiences and created different meanings than the original edition. When Byron wrote those lines at the end of the first canto of *Don Juan*, also the epigraph of the introductory chapter of this dissertation, it is quite certain that he did not have the quarto-sized edition in mind judging from what he had already said in one of his much earlier letters when he was negotiating with John Murray, his major publisher in the future. Even though Byron

¹¹ John Dicks was “one of the largest and busiest printing and publishing offices in England” (Summers 552). This edition, probably published “between 1863 and 1873” when “Dicks was active from 313 The Strand” according to Oxford’s OLIS library catalogue, is a valuable rare item at which Byron scholars should look in order to understand how Byron’s works were transformed in a physical sense. For further examination of this version, see Byron, *Don Juan*, illustration by Frederick Gilbert (London: J. Dicks, undated), 161p. in two columns+ill, 19cm, Shelfmark: Johnson d.3661 at Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

eventually followed Murray's decision (he remarked to Francis Hodgson, a close friend of Byron's, on Oct. 13, 1811, that "one must obey one's bookseller" (*BLJ* 2: 113)), Byron expressed his dislike of the size of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*: "[Murray] wants to have it in quarto, which is a cursed unsaleable size" (*BLJ* 2: 112). Needless to say, "He had never been sympathetic to Murray's policy of high prices which he saw as cutting his works off from most of his potential audience" (*RNRP* 325).

Moreover, after the publication of the first installment of *Don Juan* in July 1819, Douglas Kinnaird, Byron's long-time friend and financial adviser, said to John Hobhouse that "Don Juan has, as far as I can learn, *failed*—I think the quarto edition has disgusted people" (*Biography* 2: 804). This is not merely a matter of the size itself, but rather obviously it is about the price of the book, which initially appeared at 31.5 shillings and cost about 50 shillings when bound ("Impact" 3). This exorbitant price clearly put restrictions on potential purchasers' access to the product, as many critics affirm.¹² The first volume of *Don Juan*, containing two cantos, was thus born into the world with its publisher's anxiety about possible prosecution, the poet's coterie reviewers' unanimous objection to its publication, and the general public's disgust for various reasons including the high price. Byron, however, was not on the scene of this birth; he was throwing out his little book and hoping it would find its own way while he was away from London in Ravenna, Italy.

¹² For example, see *RNRP* 40; and Colette Colligan, "The Unruly Copies of Byron's *Don Juan*: Harems, Underground Print Culture, and the Age of Mechanical Reproduction."

Of course, from the publisher's position, Murray's initial decision to publish the famous poet's poem as a quarto would have been influenced by the perceived danger of the poem because of its obscenity and immorality. As many Byron critics have already pointed out, a significant reason underlying the decision was Murray's fear of prosecution, and he therefore intended "to lessen the danger of prosecution" by making the book virtually only available to wealthy purchasers.¹³ Without doubt, the year 1819 when *Don Juan* was finally published—the publication of the first volume of the first and second cantos having been long delayed by the publisher—was, politically, the most turbulent and suppressive time in the British Romantic period.¹⁴ Two repressive apparatuses by the government, the Proclamation Society (founded in 1787) and the Society for the Suppression of Vice (founded in 1802), had already been in action, and another surveillance system, the Constitutional Association, was about to be established in the following year in December 1820 after the Peterloo Massacre in August 1819 which became a pretext for the Tory government to pass Six Acts that would restrict freedom of expression of the entire nation.¹⁵

¹³ For example, see Hugh J. Luke, Jr., "The Publishing of Byron's *Don Juan*," and Robinson Blann, *Throwing the Scabbard Away: Byron's Battle against the Censors of Don Juan*. Moreover, Byron had already presaged that Murray would procrastinate the publishing of *Don Juan* in letter of Nov. 11, 1818, written to John Cam Hobhouse in which he writes, "the damned Cant and Toryism of the day may make Murray pause" (*BLJ* 4: 76-77).

¹⁴ Byron had finished *Don Juan* by Sept. 19, 1818, and sent a cargo of poetry (containing the first canto of *Don Juan*, the fair copy of *Mazeppa*, and the *Ode on Venice*) to England by Lord Lauderdale, who had visited him in Venice early in November" (*Biography* 2: 762). For a more general introduction to the tumult of the year, see James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism*.

¹⁵ Concerning literary censorship, see Donald Thomas, *A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England*, especially Chapters 7 ("Guardians of Public Morality: The Proclamation Society"), 8 ("Political Censorship: A Fight to the Finish 1792-1832"), and 9 ("Guardians of Public Morality: The Society for the Suppression of Vice"). For more about the Constitutional Association under

With regard to the overall socio-political environment of the time, Robinson Blann notes that the Society for the Suppression of Vice obtained nearly seven hundred convictions and highlights that “most of the prosecutions for blasphemy came in 1819-23,” the exact time when most of the cantos of *Don Juan* were being published (22). It is not difficult to imagine the repressive mood of the time if we consider other findings by Ernest Woodward, that “between 1816 and 1834 there were 183 prosecutions in Great Britain for seditious and blasphemous libel,” 131 of which “took place in 1817 and 1819-21, [while] after 1824 the number was very small” (29).

Among the various despotic devices that the government used in order to control the epidemic revolutionary moods during Byron’s lifetime and by which to maintain its *status quo*, the extensiveness of the infamous Six Acts, needless to say, had enormous influence not only upon individual writers but also upon the publishing business as a whole. In particular, concerning the Six Acts, “the last two acts” “gave the English magistrates powerful weapons against the printed word” and gagged the press seriously (Blann 17). The fifth and the sixth acts deserve our attention at this point:

- 5) Blasphemous or seditious publications could be seized and banishment imposed for those offending a second time;
- 6) Pamphlets selling sixpence were now made liable to the same stamp duty as newspapers. (qtd. in Blann 17)

the leadership of Duke of Wellington, see Blann 24. And for more about the Six Acts, see Wickwar 136-41, which deals with the Six Acts and the press.

According to the fifth act, “the government used a particularly clever tactic in combining ‘sedition and blasphemy . . . in the same category,’” as Blann points out (18). Thus, so many of Byron’s poems defined as “blasphemous” by the numerous contemporary critical reviews, such as *Manfred*, *Don Juan*, *Cain*, and *The Vision of Judgment*, could also be charged as seditious. What is more, the government checked numerous low-income readers’ accessibility to the knowledge from printed matter by means of controlling the price as shown in the sixth act. Byron was well aware of the *milieu*, and he knew he was not excepted from the government’s control. On top of that, “[he was] certainly aware of the censorable nature of his work from the start” (Blann 36), because he describes *Don Juan* as being “as free as La Fontaine—and bitter in politics—too” and even anticipates the possibility of his publisher’s hesitancy to put out the poem as stated in the letter to Hobhouse on Nov. 18, 1818 (*BLJ* 4: 76).

Murray, working under the direct censorship of Regency England, had to be extremely careful so as not to ruin his business and reputation, while Byron, who was writing the first two cantos of *Don Juan* mostly in Venice, Italy, was relatively free from direct restriction.¹⁶ This kind of circumstantial oppression also pushed Murray to choose the large quarto edition, which he called a “magnificent” and “a most beautiful edition” in a letter to Byron in March 19, 1819.¹⁷

¹⁶ Murray’s business with Byron, especially see the following chapters in Smiles, vol. 1: chapter 10, “Lord Byron’s Works, 1812 to 1814 (205-32); chapters 15 and 16, “Lord Byron’s Dealings with Mr. Murray” (350-91); chapter 17, “Byron’s Death and the Destruction of His Memoirs” (392-432). Byron began the first canto in early July 1818 and finished on September 19, 1818, and began the second canto on December 13, 1818, and finished on January 25, 1819.

¹⁷ In a letter written on March 19, 1819, Murray asks Byron to send the second canto of *Don Juan*. For this, see *LJM* 267.

However, we should also consider other possible reasons for Murray's decision regarding the size. Along with Longman, Constable, and Blackwood, Murray dominated the publishing business in the early nineteenth century, having succeeded to his father John McMurray's business, and once was called "the Anak of Publishers" by Byron (Smiles 1: 29).¹⁸ Murray's reputation was built upon a number of eminent and profitable projects including the retailing of medical books (handed down from his father), travel books, the Tory *Quarterly Review* (first published in February 1, 1809), and Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (first published in 1806, with 65 editions by 1814); working as an official bookseller to Admiralty during the Napoleonic Wars; and of course publishing Byron's hugely successful *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt* in 1812.¹⁹ Murray knew his business better than anyone else, and we can ascertain from what Samuel Smiles remarks that Murray considered carefully the size of a publication: "Quartos were then [when *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was published] in vogue for all books likely to attract attention, and Murray insisted that profit as well as portliness was to be found therein" (1: 178). Quartos, however, were not for the general middle-class reading public, who "must have found them prohibitively expensive" at 31.5 shillings without binding ("Impact" 6). This becomes even more evident if we

¹⁸ Regarding John McMurray (he dropped the Scotch prefix of Mc. later), the founder of John Murray publishing company, see Henry Curwen, "John Murray: Belles-Letters and Travels," *History of Booksellers* (159-98), and Humphrey Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty, 1768-2002*, especially the first four chapters.

¹⁹ Hoagwood discusses Murray's government service in *Politics*, 83. Rundell's *Domestic Cookery* "became one of Murray's most valuable properties" since he sold between 5-10,000 copies of the book every year. In 1814, however, Rundell filed a lawsuit over the copyright, which was resolved when she finally accepted the publisher's offer of 2,000 guineas ("Mrs Rundell" par. 1).

consider that “the highest-paid skilled workers in the country, the printers, were paid 35 shillings a week from 1811” and “a typical income of a senior retired commander in the Royal Navy,” which is St Clair’s “standard of gentility,” was “100 shillings a week” even in 1816 (“Impact” 4). Therefore, the quarto-size edition of *Don Juan* was chiefly produced to satisfy the demand from “the richest section of society and a high proportion of that section bought them” (“Impact” 7). This book obviously came into the world as “a conspicuous token of wealth,” to borrow Richard Altick’s words (261).

As we know, Byron gained his fame with a quarto edition of only 500 copies of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*: “three days after its appearance the whole edition was disposed of,” as Smiles records (1: 211).²⁰ When Byron said “I awoke one morning and found myself famous,” that fame was among the richest people in the so-called “fashionable society” whose income level was among the highest in the country. In addition, when the Duchess of Devonshire said that “[*Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*] is on every table” (*RNRP* 201), it was mostly on the tables of economically-privileged, wealthy purchasers, or in St Clair’s words, “the aristocratic families” who were most likely to have a luxury living-room table on which to place the book (*RNRP* 201).²¹ Such a book would show off the owners’ economic power, their interest in fashionable books of the time, and many other characteristics that would distinguish them from others in the lower social strata. In a sense, then, not only the textual contents

²⁰ For the early reception of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, see Peter J. Manning, “*Childe Harold* in the Marketplace: From Romaunt to Handbook.”

²¹ For the original source of this statement, see Vere Foster, ed., *The Two Duchesses* (376). Mole says that “the target audience for the first edition . . . was few in number but very rich and very fashionable” (*Romantic Celebrity* 55).

of a book but also its physical size and appearance are seen as representative of both the owner's intellectual capacity (even if the book was never actually read by the owner) and financial power.

As Tom Mole convincingly argues, "Murray knew his market" and also was familiar with the characteristics of it (55). Likewise, he was well acquainted with the sequent order of his target audience groups to whom he had to sell his products. Therefore, instead of pricing his products cheaply to gain more purchasers as many later publishers including Charles Knight (1791-1873) would do to sell out their books, Murray took a different method.²² Because the Copyright Acts guaranteed the monopoly of a work for twenty-eight years, Murray could play with the "high price [and] small sales" policy for the first releases of books (*RNRP* 208).²³ First, he released the sumptuous edition to the aristocratic families, to whom "[b]y the 1820s Murray was legendary for such schemes as presenting the royal family with immaculately bound display copies" (Mason 432). Because Murray already had this existing customer group, he did not have to spend enormous amounts of money on advertising when he released *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt* in 1812—in fact, "Murray spent the relatively

²² Charles Knight, who was "the very symbol of the cheap-book movement" (as Richard Altick calls it) and the publisher for the Society for the Diffusion of the Useful Knowledge (founded in 1826), argued that it was more profitable to sell cheap books in great numbers than to deal with dear books (281). Knight also said that "It is no modern discovery that a book cheap enough for the many amongst reading people to buy, and at the same time a book which the many would have a strong desire to buy, would be more advantageous to the manufacturer of books than a dear book which the few only could buy, and which the few only would desire to buy" in *The Old Printer and the Modern Press* (186). Murray would later take this marketing policy in the Family Library project to distribute more books at cheaper prices to common readers. For more about Murray's Family Library project, a series of five-shilling volumes, launched in 1829, see Scott Bennett, "John Murray's Family Library and the Cheapening of Books in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain."

²³ For more information on the copyright in general, see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: the Invention of Copyright*.

small amount of 19.3 pound 6d on newspaper advertising, but since he was only committed to five hundred copies, he could afford to rely on word of mouth” (Mole 55).²⁴ Selling out the first quarto edition, Murray put out “the follow-up octavos” at 12s—6,000 copies in 1812 and 6,500 in 1814—and “pretend[ed] that there were ten editions when actually there were only six” as a means of puffing the sales (*RNRP* 200, 586). These practices show Murray’s elaborately planned marketing style: after making his customers eager for a cheaper edition, Murray issued octavo editions in large numbers. This niche-market strategy in marketing that he had used in the case of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* is also evident in Murray’s decision to publish fifteen hundred copies of *Don Juan* in quarto.²⁵

When *Don Juan* came out, it is evident that most of the gentry class below the social division of the high and noble class must have disliked the price of the quarto edition and complained about the sense of alienation they felt from the inaccessibility to the celebrity’s recent work, not to mention the working and the lower classes, many of whom even aspired to emulate Byron’s heroes (Cruse 211).²⁶ When the quarto editions

²⁴ For the exact costs, also see Doris Langley Moore, *Lord Byron: Accounts Rendered* (180).

²⁵ In effect, “[o]f the first edition of the first two Cantos of *Don Juan* fifteen hundred copies were printed. But of these 150 copies were ‘wasted,’” as Thomas James Wise states in *A Bibliography of the Writings in Verse and Prose of George Gordon Noel, Byron* (2: 4). This is because the second edition of the book in octavo was published later in the same year in 1819 at a much-reduced price of 12s. Besides, “[e]ven before the octavo version of *Don Juan* was put on sale,” “a man called Onwhyn reprinted a pirated edition” “describ[ing] on the title page as ‘An exact copy from the quarto edition’ and priced at 4 shillings” (“Impact” 14). Thus, “no further copies in quarto were required” (Wise 2: 4).

²⁶ Cruse describes an American youth who, in 1813, did not want to follow the Byron craze which had captivated everyone in his uncle’s family and his workplace. However, by 1814, the boy found himself reading every work of Byron and even desiring to be one of Byron’s heroes like Childe Harold or Conrad, as did most of the clerks with whom he had worked (For this, see especially chapter 8, “London Readers in the Days of the Regency,” 209-23).

were sold, Murray expanded the sales of his products to the classes below. The price and the production figures for the octavo edition (9s 6d and 3,500 copies), however, were much lower than Murray's previous productions, most certainly because of Onwhyn's pirated octavo edition that had already been in the market at an unbeatable price of four shillings.²⁷ If pirated editions of *Don Juan* had not been available, Murray would likely have put out the octavo editions at 12s in far greater numbers. Regardless, however, the acquisition of the book moved from the higher class down to the lower classes.

As with the consumption of most fashionable products, purchasing of books generally follows a top-to-bottom pattern, especially for those items considered luxurious, which would include a number of Byron's poems. Surely Murray knew this kind of purchasing pattern, in which the lower classes imitate the higher class in possessing fashionable items. In other words, Murray first had targeted the "niche-market" of the highest class and then, as Mole smartly understands, "capitali[zed] on its success with an elite audience by sales of cheaper editions" so as to boost the total sales in advance (55). Because of this kind of practice, St Clair estimates that *Don Juan*, for example, was read by a tremendous number of readers—between 630,000 and 1,580,000 in the first ten years after its publication.²⁸

²⁷ Not a few copies of this edition housed in Bodleian Library are bound in paperboards bearing a small label on the spine, which shows its title and the price. This means that the octavo copies were sold not only to those who would rebind the book with better material like leather but also to those who wanted to read it without paying extra money for rebinding. For an example copy, consult an item with Shelfmark, Dunston B 417. More interestingly, there is a copy of the first quarto edition of *Don Juan* (Bodleian Shelfmark: Dunston B 416), which is bound within the original thick paperboards bearing the original title and price label on its spine. The wear and tear of the copy's exterior is quite obvious, but the interior is in very fine uncut condition.

²⁸ We can easily see the complexity of the publication history of Byron's works merely by looking at the publication of *Don Juan*, which has at least fifty-one separate editions (nineteen official and thirty-two

A close examination of Robert Bent's *The London Catalogue of Books* (1831) reveals very interesting facts about Murray's publishing business, especially with regard to the sizes of publication. According to the *Catalogue*, which lists a great number of books published from the year 1810 to February 1831 in alphabetical order, Murray published more than 570 books (of old and new titles). For these books, Murray used at least six different sizes: quarto editions (101); octavo (389); 12mo (71); 16mo (1); 18mo (25); and folio (1). Some books were published in different sizes at the same time—quarto and octavo, or octavo and duodecimo—probably to accommodate customers' different financial situations and to expand the range of potential purchasers. The most expensive and luxurious book that Murray published during this period might be *Hakewill's Italy, with Views* (1819) as a royal quarto; it was printed on Indian paper and cost 18 pounds.²⁹ In addition, it was not unusual to find multivolume editions priced even higher than 20 or 30 pounds during this time.³⁰ Thus considering both the publishing practices of Murray and other publishers during this period, it becomes

piratical editions) for ten years from 1819-1828, producing about 94,000 copies of official editions as St Clair counts ("Impact" 1-25). And the impact of Byron's poems in nineteenth-century British society is hardly difficult to imagine if we consider St Clair's calculation of the estimated readership of *Don Juan*, which exceeded 1.5 million. St Clair makes two assumptions in his estimation of the readership of *Don Juan*: he assumes that one copy could have been read by five to ten people, and he approximates that the piratical editions' average production was between 1,000 to 2,000 copies. So St Clair's maximum estimation of *Don Juan*'s readership between 1819 and 1828 is 1,580,000 and minimum is 630,000 ("Impact" 17).

²⁹ According to Benjamin Colbert, "Murray advertised them [Hakewill's engravings] as 'Hakewill's Views of Italy. Illustrative of Addison, Eustace, and Forsyth' in the end papers of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Canto the Fourth* (1818)" (166n148). For a comparison, the most expensive book published during the period that the *Catalogue* covers is William Dugdale's *Monasticon Auglicanum* (1825?), an 8-volume folio edition which was priced outrageously at 283 pounds 10 shillings, published by Joseph Harding. The royal quarto is slightly bigger than the regular quarto: the royal quarto measures 12½ x 10 inches, and the regular quarto measures 9½ x 12 inches ("Book Sizes").

³⁰ For Harding's interview with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, see "Mr. Joseph Harding, called in; and examined," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 125.1 (1819): 457-58.

clearer that the problem with the publication of *Don Juan* was neither the size nor price as such. The main problem was that Murray had restricted public readers' access to the long-awaited work of a national celebrity, which in turn instigated many radical publishers to pirate the sumptuous edition. If *Don Juan* had been some other writer's work, it might not have been widely pirated.

The price of the first volume of *Don Juan* (Murray's quarto edition), 1l 11s 6d, or 31.5 shillings, was, in effect, not an extraordinary price if we consider the fact that there were other, more expensive books printed as quartos, as we can see in Table 1³¹:

Table 1 A partial excerpt from William St Clair's "Rising retail price of the long romantic poem (boards, before rebinding)" in *RNRP* 200.

	<i>4to</i>	<i>Shillings</i>
1805	Southey's <i>Madoc</i>	42
1810	Scott's <i>Lady of the Lake</i>	42
1812	Scott's <i>Rokeby</i>	42
1814	Wordsworth's <i>The Excursion</i> ³²	42
1815	Scott's <i>The Lord of the Isles</i>	42

³¹ Furthermore, looking at the numbers of the sizes Murray produced, about 17 *per cent* of his publications were in quarto and 66 *per cent* in octavo from 1810 to 1830.

³² Byron criticizes this quarto edition of *The Excursion* in *Don Juan* (in "Dedication" and 3. 94, quoted here):

Wordsworth's last quarto, by the way, is bigger
any since the birthday of typography;
A clumsy* frowzy poem, call'd the 'Excursion,'
Writ in a manner which is my aversion.
(*McGann's edition has "drowsy" instead of "clumsy").

Interestingly, as St Clair explains, Wordsworth's quarto edition of *The Excursion* took "six years for most of the 500 copies to be sold before the book was reprinted in octavo" (RNRP 201). Furthermore, "for the price of one copy of *The Excursion* in quarto, a reader in Salisbury could have bought over a hundred fat pigs [7.5 shillings a score]. Wordsworth's own income from his writing was below 100 shillings (£5) a week for most of his life, and he could not easily have afforded to buy his own books" (RNRP 201-02). Thus, even if "Wordsworth wrote 'of & for, the poor,'" "in absolute terms, the books for the poor were not cheap," and "he did not number many leech gatherers among his readers" (RNRP 202, 206, 202-03). Thus, we can see that expensive quarto editions were not unprecedented products. From Murray's decision on the price and the size of the first volume of *Don Juan*, we can also see his confidence in Byron's unextinguished popularity among high-class fashionable society.

Byron became an unprecedented national celebrity after his success in 1812 with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*, after which he was often in the public attention. Since then he was a favorite among fashionable society in London, and demands for his new books were very high in the market. For example, Byron's five Turkish tales after this success—*The Giaour* (1813), *The Bride of Abydos* (1813), *The Corsair* (1814), *Lara* (1814), and *The Siege of Corinth* (1816)—were all passionately welcomed by the public. As is well-known, "Six thousand copies of *The Bride* were sold within a month of publication, [and] ten thousand copies of *The Corsair* on the day of publication itself" (Jump 35). According to St Clair's record of the production figures of Byron's works, Murray had published at least 94,000 copies of Byron's works by the time Byron left

England on April 25, 1816, and 148,250 copies altogether before the publication of *Don Juan*.³³

Although Lord Byron's separation from his wife, Annabella Milbanke, the rampant rumors about their separation, and the unintended publication of "Fare Thee Well" (1816) eventually led Byromaniacs to turn their backs on the poet, people's general interest in him had not decreased significantly.³⁴ Sales figures of Byron's works after his farewell to England show that his works were still highly sought in the literary market (see Table 2):

Table 2 Sales figures of Byron's works after his departure from London before the publication of *Don Juan* (numbers are from *RNRP* 587-88).

Nov. 18, 1816	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third</i>	9,000 copies
Dec. 5, 1816	<i>The Prisoner of Chillon and Other Poems</i>	9,000
June 16, 1817	<i>Manfred</i> (Sold out)	6,000
	(Second edition)	1,000
Feb. 28, 1818	<i>Beppo</i>	8,050
	(Eight editions, "1822: 2,600 copies remaindered")	
April 28, 1818	<i>Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Fourth</i>	10,000
June 28, 1818	<i>Mazeppa and Ode on Venice</i>	8,000
	("By 1822, 7400 copies sold, 600 remaindered")	

Murray did not lessen the number of published copies of Byron's works (see table 2), even when the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was published on

³³ For the numbers of publications of each of Byron's works, see *RNRP* 586-87.

³⁴ For Lord and Lady Byron's marriage certificate, income statement in 1814, and the "Deed of Separation between Lord and Lady Byron" dated April 20, 1816, consult MS. 43722 in John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland (NLS). For rumors concerning their separation, see Jump 33; about "Fare Thee Well," see McGann, "What Differences" 77-92; Magnuson 14; *BinE* 19-26.

November 18, 1816, not long after Byron's departure from his country in disgrace due to the circumstances of his divorce and finances.³⁵ We can see that Murray remained confident in his belief that Byron was still marketable in spite of the poet's damaged reputation. Regardless of Byron's downfall, however, the eyes and ears of the public and their interests were always eager for something new about the infamous celebrity. After a long wait, people were finally given two more cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. After the last canto, however, they could not find any works of Byron more arresting than those published between 1812 and 1814, which included such works as *The Giaour*, *The Bride*, and *The Corsair*, which sold 12,500, 12,500, and 25,000 copies, respectively. As a matter of fact, as Murray's sales figures suggest, towards the end of 1818, after the publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Fourth*, we can infer that Byron's popularity was gradually declining. For instance, *Mazeppa* sold poorly, and 600 copies (out of 750) of the 1819 two-volume edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (including the whole poem) were still unsold in 1823 (*RNRP* 586). Yet the state of Byron's popularity took a new turn with the publication of *Don Juan* in spite of the social condemnation of the work in many literary reviews.

Byron was not a simple literary fad. Both his poems and the noble lord himself were "cultural phenomen[a]," as Andrew Elfenbein accentuates (8).³⁶ Indeed, Elfenbein is following the lead of Byron's contemporary radical publishers, such as William

³⁵ Marchand writes briefly about Byron's financial troubles, including that a bailiff entered his house in behalf of creditors in early November 1815 (*Biography* 2: 545-48).

³⁶ For critics dealing with Byron as a cultural phenomenon, see also Ghislaine McDayter, *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture* and Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity*.

Benbow and William Hodgson, who copied and pirated Byron's works, arguing that *Don Juan* was "common property" (Colligan 440). Byron did not merely exist as an author of books on bookshelves, but he was everywhere in the lives of Regency England. He was a fashion, a subject of numerous people's talks, and an object of many people's attention. Letters by an American youth suggest that Byron was once "regarded almost as a demi-god" "in the giddiest heights of popularity" by many of his fans (qtd. in Cruse 218).³⁷ But once *Don Juan*, a long-awaited work of the demi-god, irrespective of its contents, came out in the market, the unaffordable price precluded most of the public readers from purchasing it. Furthermore, although the work was published with neither an author's nor a publisher's name, bearing only the printer's name, Thomas Davison, many potential customers had already come to know that it was Byron's.³⁸ To further excite the reading public, as Samuel Chew remarks, "Previous to its appearance, the newspapers carried for several days the mysterious and arresting advertisement: 'In a

³⁷ Cruse quotes here from *The Letters of an American Youth to His Mother* in which a youth describes the popularity of Byron and his works among the general reading public, including working-class readers (209-23). These particular quotations are from his letter of May 1813 after the publication of *The Giaour*. For more about Byron's fame as a national celebrity and Byromania, see Frances Wilson, ed., *Byromania: Portraits of the Artist in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Culture*. For more on "Byromania" in particular, see item number MS. 43770 in John Murray Archive in NLS. This is a big-sized album whose owner carefully collected a number of Byron-related newspaper article scraps, pamphlets, and many others pieces. One of the scraps is entitled, "Lord Byron's fear of getting fat." This album bears the word "BARONIANA" on its spine.

³⁸ About this furtive publication with neither the author's nor the publisher's name, John Thelwall, in *The Champion*, insists that "the mystery in the publication seems to be nothing but a bookseller's trick to excite curiosity [and] enhance the sale" (472). For Thelwall's review of *Don Juan*, see John Thelwall, "Don Juan," *The Champion* (July 25, 1819): 472-73, and continued in the next issue (Aug. 1, 1819): 488-90. In addition, all the literary periodicals that published early reviews of the first volume of *Don Juan* in July 1819 clarify that the author of the book is Lord Byron.

few days—*Don Juan*” (BinE 27-28).³⁹ About this very brief and succinct line-advertisement, William Hone writes in the introduction to his imitation of Byron’s poem, *‘Don John,’ or Don Juan Unmasked* (BinE 27-28):⁴⁰

These words *alone*, neither preceded or followed by explanation, appearing in the advertising columns of our news papers, were more novel in their form than the first appearance of the new comet; and in their import, certainly not less mysterious. The curiosity of the town was raised to the highest pitch to know the meaning of the enigmatical line. The ladies, as was natural, supposed them to be used as a signal for happiness, previously concerted between some fond pair, whom time and space had separated. Gentlemen hurried to the offices of the Times and Morning Chronicle, to beg of the editors some explanation; but, for the first time, these public oracles were compelled to declare their ignorance. The portentous words were by the booksellers, whose scent in such matters is rather keen, supposed to be what they significantly called, a *‘fetch’* of Don John’s. What other conjectures could divine, that they were merely an announcement of a work in the press to be published by “John

³⁹ Chew also notes “*Don Juan* was published July 15, 1819. *The Literary Gazette*, July 17, 1819, remarks that the public mind had been strangely agitated by announcements in the newspapers” (BinE 28n1). Regarding the advertisement for *Don Juan*, see Hadley J. Mozer, “Don Juan and the Advertising and Advertised Lord Byron.” Diss. Baylor U, 2003. Chapter 7 in particular, “Marketing *Don Juan*, Cantos I-II,” provides some valuable information about the overall advertisement for the first installment of the poem (211-51).

⁴⁰ See also Christensen 215, n2 and n3 and (as Christensen points out in his endnotes) Hobhouse’s response to the advertisement in the letter of July 15, 1819 in *Byron’s Bulldog: The Letters of John Cam Hobhouse to Lord Byron*, ed. Peter W. Graham (275 and 277n4).

Murray, of Albemarle Street,” or, speaking agreeably to his own cognomen, “*Mr. Murray?*” (*Unmasked* 5-6)

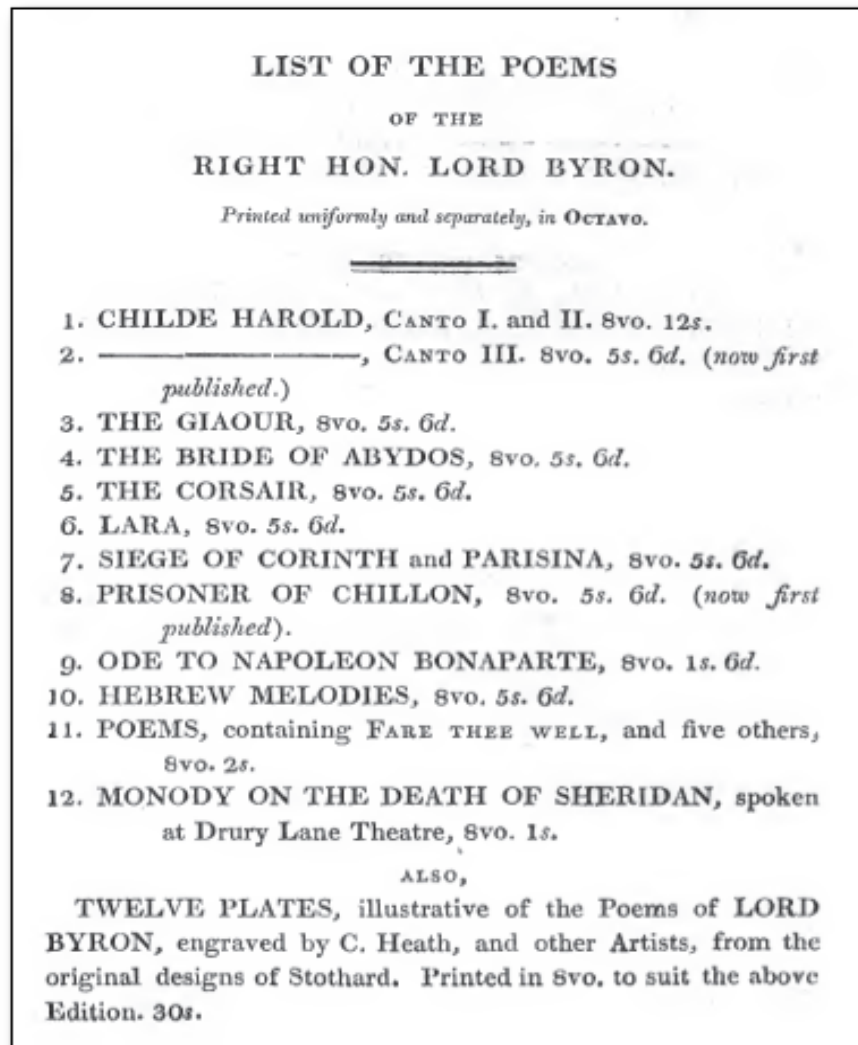


Figure 1. The back-matter advertisement of Byron’s poems Murray put forth in the market in November 1816. (From *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage, Canto the Third* (1816).

LORD BYRON'S POEMS.
Printed uniformly, and sold separately, in OCTAVO.

1. **CHILDE HAROLD, CANTOS I. and II. 12s.**
2. _____ **III. 5s. 6d.**
3. _____ **IV. 12s.**
4. **THE GIAOUR, 5s. 6d.**
5. **THE BRIDE OF ABYDOS, 5s. 6d.**
6. **THE CORSAIR, 5s. 6d.**
7. **LARA, 5s. 6d.**
8. **SIEGE OF CORINTH and PARISINA, 3s. 6d.**
9. **PRISONER OF CHILLON, 5s. 6d.**
10. **ODE TO NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, 1s. 6d.**
11. **HEBREW MELODIES, 5s. 6d.**
12. **POEMS, containing FARE THEE WELL! &c. 2s.**
13. **MONODY ON SHERIDAN, 1s.**
14. **MANFRED, A DRAMATIC POEM, 5s. 6d.**
15. **LAMENT OF TASSO, 1s. 6d.**
16. **BEPPLO; A VENETIAN STORY, 8vo. 3s. 6d.**

Forming together Three Volumes in Octavo.

WORKS of the Right Honourable LORD BYRON, collected and printed uniformly in Six Volumes, foolscap 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.*

The FIFTH and SIXTH Volumes separately, 7*s.* each.

TWELVE PLATES, illustrative of the Poems of Lord BYRON, engraved by Charles Heath, and other Artists, from the original Designs of Stothard. Foolscap 8vo. 18*s.* Demy 8vo. 30*s.* Quarto, proofs, 42*s.*

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS of the **FOURTH CANTO** of **CHILDE HAROLD**. By JOHN HOBHOUSE, Esq. 8vo.—*Will be ready on the 28th of April.*

Figure 2. The back-matter advertisement of Byron's poems Murray put forth in the market in April 1818. (From *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Fourth* (1818).⁴¹

As we can see from Figures 1 and 2, Murray's business strategy concerning size and price was to publish Byron's works primarily in octavos, the most popular size, priced at 5*s* 6*d*, which was an affordable price for traditional book-buyers. When new titles came out, however, he sold them at 12*s*. In contrast to most of Byron's previous

⁴¹ These two editions of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* are both available online at *Google Books*.

products that Murray had put forth in the market, *Don Juan* became a luxury item from the outset not as a 12s new title but as a 31.5s “furniture book,” which was similar to the situation when *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage, A Romaunt* had been first published in quarto at 30s (Knight 247).⁴² Though such a publishing strategy was not unprecedented, the combination of the repressive moods of the time and the inaccessibility first caused by the size and the price of the book gave rise to the complicated publication history and reception of *Don Juan* in the following years. Though Ghislaine McDayter argues that “If a reader could not have afforded one of Murray’s quartos, he or she could still get a steady flow of Byron in the magazines, or could copy out passages from his work for [his or her] own collection” (115), it is natural that public readers wanted to attain cheaper editions, which instigated the proliferation of pirated editions to solve the problem of inaccessibility. Thus, *Don Juan* attracted attention from virtually all the classes.

Murray’s decisions regarding the size and the price of the first edition of *Don Juan* were primarily aimed to protect his business from the oppressive government. However, his decisions eventually resulted in the birth of a number of cheaper piratical

⁴² Knight defines the “furniture book” as one that “may be bought by the luxurious, to put upon their shelves, and looked at when wanted” (247-48). Southey also had similar thought about books as fashionable items. When his *Madoc* was first published in quarto by Longman in 1805, he wrote in a letter, “In fact, books are now so dear that they are becoming rather articles of fashionable furniture than anything else; they who buy them do not read, and they who read them do not buy” (qtd. in Mole, *Romantic Celebrity* (174n42); for the original source, see *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. Charles Cuthbert Southey (2: 329-30)). Cruse uses the similar term, “drawing-room book” for this kind of luxury book (276). For more about Cruse’s discussion of drawing-room books, see chapter 17 “Drawing-Room Books,” in *The English Man and His Books*, 276-87. To a certain degree, “even the bookshops presented themselves as centers of fashionable culture” (Felluga 59). Books were traditionally treated as luxury items, and bookbindings contributed much to this trend. For more about luxury bookbinding, see Jan Storm Van Leeuwen, “Bindings: Their Descriptions, their Owners and their Contents,” *Eloquent Witnesses: Bindings and Their History*, ed. Mariam M. Foot, 31-52.

editions, which complicated and enriched the publication history of *Don Juan*. Moreover, it was these piratical editions that most of the reading public were able to acquire to satisfy their interests in the poem. Therefore, the interpretation of a literary text such as *Don Juan* should consider these bibliographical and non-literary aspects as well.

CHAPTER III

RADICALIZING THE EARLY CANTOS OF *DON JUAN*:

LEIGH HUNT AND WILLIAM HONE

3.1. Early Reviews vs. Leigh Hunt Advocating Byron

Considering that the first edition of *Don Juan* was largely inaccessible to the general public, the responses of the early readers of the book were a significant contribution to the complicated publication history of *Don Juan* and the variety of sensational public responses to the poem. The contents of this book unanimously worried and were opposed by the first readers of the book—first the so-called Murray’s Utican Senate, the Synod, or “my cursed puritanical committee” as Byron called his coterie which frequented Murray’s bookshop, and then a large number of literary reviewers of the time (*BLJ* 6:99).⁴³ However, the first five cantos, except the “Dedication,” are less politically radical when compared with the later cantos (from the sixth on) that Byron wrote after almost one-and-a-half year’s hiatus from December 1820 to July 1822 on the grounds of “the female Censor,” Countess Guiccioli (*BLJ* 9: 198)⁴⁴—Byron began the fifth canto of *Don Juan* on October 16, 1820, and sent it to

⁴³ Byron calls Murray’s literary associates “the Synod”—John Hobhouse, John Frere, Scrope Davis, Thomas Moore, and the like—in a letter, for example, of August 31, 1821, to Murray when he found careless printing in the fifth canto of *Don Juan* (*BLJ* 8: 192).

⁴⁴ For the dates, see “Byron Chronology” included in each of *BLJ* (7: 8-9). Byron announces this censor first in a letter of July 6, 1821, to Murray (*BLJ* 8: 147). In addition to Byron calling Countess Guiccioli’s “the female Censor” in a letter to Thomas Moore written on August 27, 1822, see Blann 95; for other possible factors involved in Byron’s suspension of writing cantos 6 to 8 of *Don Juan*. In fact, Byron must have started writing cantos 6 and others long before he acquired Madame Guiccioli’s permission to

Kinnaird on December 28, 1820; cantos 3,4, and 5 were published on August 7, 1821, in one volume; Byron promised Teresa Giuccioli not to continue *Don Juan* in July 1821; he resumed working on *Don Juan* in July 1822.

In addition, one of the most seriously dangerous parts of the first two volumes, or the first five cantos, of *Don Juan*, that is to say, the “Dedication,” had never been officially published until February 1833 when Murray published it in volume 15 of the 17-volume series of *The Works of Lord Byron, with His Letters and Journals, and His Life by Thomas Moore* (edited by John Wright). It was Byron who asked Murray not to include the dedication in the first edition of the poem. In the letter of May 6, 1819, about two months ahead of the publication of the first volume of *Don Juan*, Byron wrote Murray, “You [Murray] are right about publishing [the first two cantos of *Don Juan*] *anonymously*—but in that case we will *omit* the dedication to Southey—I won’t attack the dog so fiercely without putting my name—that is reviewer’s work—so you may publish the poem without the dedicatory stanzas” (*BLJ* 4: 123). A little more than a week later on May 15, Byron wrote another letter to Murray. Here again he says, “*Juan anonymously without the dedication*—for I won’t be shabby—& attack Southey under Cloud of night” (*BLJ* 4: 127). In fact, Murray included the dedication in the corrected proofs of the first two cantos of *Don Juan* that he sent to Byron for correction.⁴⁵ In the proofs, Byron crossed out the dedication pages and “Notes to Canto I.” He writes, “I

continue the poem since, in a letter of July 24, 1822, to Kinnaird, he says, “I have nearly completed three more Cantos of D[on] Juan—which will perhaps be ready by Novr. or sooner. . . . I have obtained permission to continue the poem” (*BLJ* 9: 187-88).

⁴⁵ For this item, see “Corrected Proofs” MS. 43374 in the John Murray Archive, NLS.

mean the dedication to be omitted” on top of the first page of the notes. In the dedication we read now, Byron denounces Wordsworth, and probably other political apostates including Southey and Coleridge, as “shabby fellows” (canto I, stanza 6). Interestingly, in the footnote to the same stanza 6 in the original proofs, however, Byron criticizes Wordsworth far more severely and openly, calling him a “poetical charlatan and poetical parasite” and a “converted Jacobin” (“Prose Preface” 4n11). Obviously, Byron’s condemnation of Wordsworth takes a political ground by attacking his political inconsistency. If this had been published without the publisher’s suppression or the author’s self-censorship, it would have greatly influenced the reception of the poem from the first volume, especially considering that “one’s reception was dependent upon one’s views of the government of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Eldon,” as Jeffrey Cox highlights (31).

Later in 1824, “[The] existence [of the dedication] became notorious, in consequence of an article in the *Westminster Review*, generally ascribed to Sir John Hobhouse; and for several years, the verses have been selling in the streets as a broadside,” according to John Wright (101n1). In other words, even if many people knew of the existence of the dedication, including Southey who is severely criticized in it along with Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Lord Castlereagh, it could not actually affect the public or critical reception of the poem when the first two volumes of *Don Juan* were initially published—the publication of the last two cantos of *Don Juan*, the fifteenth and the sixteenth cantos, had already been completed in March 1824 before the article by Hobhouse publicized the existence of it.

A close reading of the first five cantos of *Don Juan* that Murray published certainly suggests that the poem does not have much to be called “politically radical.” Rather, as many of Byron’s contemporaries and critical reviewers repeatedly pointed out, the core of their criticism lies in the poem’s “immorality.” Therefore, strictly speaking, the first five cantos that Byron wrote by 1820 could not be read as the kind of political writing to which people of the time were exposed in the prevalent radical books and pamphlets available from the late eighteenth century: radical journals, newspapers, books, and pamphlets published before *Don Juan* include such titles as Constantin Francois de Volney’s *Ruins of Empire* (1789), Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* (1791), Thomas Spence’s *Pig’s Meat* (1793-96), William Cobbett’s *Political Register* (1802-35), and Thomas Jonathan Wooler’s *Black Dwarfs* (1817-24).⁴⁶ When the first two cantos were finally published after Murray’s long hesitation, the critical responses of literary reviews were clearly divided into two kinds: praise and censure. But the immoral conduct between Julia and young Juan in the first canto and the blasphemous cannibalism scene in the second canto were the most severely criticized scenes in the

⁴⁶ For more about the radical writings in the period in general, see Gary Dyre, “The Meaning of Radical Verse Satire” (67-93). For more about *The Black Dwarf* in particular, see Steven E. Jones, “Satiric Performance in *The Black Dwarf*” (77-110), and Jon P. Klaner, “Radical Representations” (98-134), which deals with *The Black Dwarf* and William Cobbett in great detail. For the three trials of William Hone, see Marcus Wood, “Radicals and the Law: Blasphemous Libels and the Three Trials of William Hone” (96-154), and Hone’s own report of the trials in *The Three Trials of William Hone: for Publishing Three Parodies; viz. The Late John Wilkes’s Catechism, Political Litany, and The Sinecurist’s Creed*. For more on Hone’s *Political House*, see Wood’s “*The Political House that Jack Built: Children’s Publishing and Political Satire*” (215-263). For Hone’s political journalism, see Ann Bowden’s dissertation. For more on Hone, see Frederick WM. Hackwood, *William Hone: His Life and Times*. When I state that the first five cantos are not politically radical in a strict sense, I am not arguing that they are completely apolitical in meaning, but rather that the textual evidence shows that these five cantos do not contain the same extent of politically dangerous or instigating content as other books of the radical canon. From a different perspective, I generally agree with the idea that everything published during the Romantic period, as McGann implies, could be considered ideological, and therefore political (*Romantic Ideology* 66).

poem's initial reception aside from several favorable reviews. Even though the first five cantos are not explicitly political by opposing the *status quo* directly, immoral and blasphemous content was something very dangerous to publish, and the author or publisher could later be charged with sedition according to the fifth act in Six Acts, which made Murray worry about the publication. Even the non-political aspects of the poem could be easily treated as clearly political with the influence of the literary reviews which were the creators of the literary tastes of the time.⁴⁷ Steven Jones also argues that "the coteries and the reviews are parts of one powerful system of tastemaking, reputation-building, or destroying" (153).

If J. Onwhyn had not issued the piratical edition of the first volume of *Don Juan*, most of the public readers below the economic level that would allow them to purchase the sumptuous quarto edition would have had no choice but to rely on the literary reviews, even after the publication of the poem, to sample what had been declared taboo.⁴⁸ Even though readers would soon be able to acquire the cantos through alternative channels, namely the numerous, much cheaper piratical editions, we cannot simply ignore the powerful influence of the literary reviews upon the readers' purchasing decisions. In effect, it is not unusual that a reader's response to a literary work could be easily predetermined and even manipulated by the reviewer's criticism, whether favorable or not. Furthermore, the sale figure of a literary work was greatly

⁴⁷ For more on viewing literary periodical reviews as literary tastemakers, the reciprocal relationship between reviews and their readers, and periodicals' function in the literary public sphere, see Klancher 18-46.

⁴⁸ As Luke has pointed out, it is not easy to know precisely when Onwhyn's edition was issued, but it must have been within two months or so of the quarto edition (201-2).

dependent on the reviews' responses. For this reason, it is possible to presume that Murray intentionally chose not to send out review copies of the first volume of *Don Juan* to literary reviews in advance, which would boost up sale figures in normal cases, so as to avoid harsh reviews and protect its sale.

Very quickly after the publication of the first two cantos, however, literary periodicals started to pour out reviews of the poem. On July 17, 1819, two days after its publication, *Literary Chronicle*, *Literary Gazette*, and *Green Man* offered very short and hurried reviews of the poem, and the first two had continued reviews in the next issues.⁴⁹ Other periodicals such as *The Monthly Review*, *The Champion*, and *European Magazine* also participated in commenting on the controversial poem.⁵⁰ As Chew states, "at first the hostility [of periodical reviews to the first two cantos of *Don Juan*] was almost unanimous" (*BinE* 28).⁵¹ While the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* remained silent, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* led the attack on *Don Juan* in August 1819 in the month after the publication of the poem.⁵² Fulminating chiefly against the

⁴⁹ For the first reviews, see the resources as follows: reviews of *Don Juan* in *Literary Chronicle* (July 17, 1819): 129-30 and (July 24, 1819): 147-49; reviews of *Don Juan* in *Literary Gazette* (July 17, 1819): 449-51 and (July 24, 1819): 470-73; a review of *Don Juan* in *Green Man* (July 17, 1819): 69.

⁵⁰ "Lord Byron's *Mazeppa*, and *Don Juan*," *Monthly Review* 89 (July 1819): 309-21; reviews of *Don Juan* in *The Champion* on July 25, 1819 (on canto the first) and on Aug. 1, 1819 (on canto the second) by John Thelwall; a review of *Don Juan*, *European Magazine* 76 (July 1819): 53-56. *Monthly Review* judges the poem chiefly on literary criteria, rather than political perspective. Thus, *Don Juan* in its first appearance in a major periodical like *Monthly Review*, which has the longest first review, was reviewed favorably.

⁵¹ For more about the contemporary reviews of *Don Juan*, see the following sources: Donald H. Reiman, ed., *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*, Part B: Byron and Regency Society Poets. 5 vols.; Trueblood, "The Contemporary Reviews of *Don Juan*," 26-96, which includes a chronological order of the reviews on *Don Juan* during Byron's lifetime (70-72). For more general information on the reception of the poem, see *BinE* 27-43.

⁵² "The two leading journals of the day," as Trueblood states, "*The Edinburgh Review* and *The Quarterly*, were still silent with regard to *Don Juan*" (42). The two journals finally published articles including some

adultery between Juan and Julia in the first canto, *Blackwood's* emphasizes the immorality and misconduct in the poem and calls Byron "a cool unconcerned fiend," attributing all the bad qualities to the poet himself ("Remarks" 513). The criticism even goes so far as to say that "[t]he consciousness of the insulting deceit which has been practiced upon us, mingles with the nobler pain arising from the contemplation of perverted and degraded genius—to make us wish that no such being as Byron ever had existed" ("Remarks" 513-14). Interestingly, as in many other periodical reviews, in spite of the severe castigation of Byron's apparent lack of religion, *Blackwood's* also refuses to include any excerpts from the cannibalistic episode in the shipwreck scene in the second canto.⁵³ The review states, "[w]e dare not stain our pages with quoting any specimens of the disgusting merriment with which he has interspersed his picture of human suffering" ("Remarks" 522). Also in August 1819, *The British Critic* issued a far more heated review of the poem than *Blackwood's* did, and a variety of literary periodicals such as *British Review*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Monthly Magazine*, *New Monthly Magazine*, *New Bon Ton Magazine*, *Edinburgh Monthly Review*, and *The Examiner* added significantly to the poem's critical reception in its first year.⁵⁴ At least

comments on *Don Juan* in February 1822 and July 1822, respectively, almost three years after the poem's first appearance. Neither of these was an independent article devoted entirely to the poem, but they merely took notice of it while reviewing Byron's other dramas, as Trueblood points out (47). For Francis Jeffrey's only review of *Don Juan*, see "Lord Byron's Tragedies," *The Edinburgh Review* 36 (Feb. 1822): 446-52. For Reginald Heber's review of *Don Juan* in the *Quarterly*, see "Lord Byron's Dramas," *The Quarterly Review* 27 (July 1822): 476-77. For a review in *Blackwood's*, see "Remarks on *Don Juan*," *Blackwoods' Edinburgh Magazine* 5 (Aug. 1819): 512-18.

⁵³ Thelwall, however, quotes the stanzas involving cannibalism in his review of the second canto of *Don Juan* issued on August 1, 1819, in *The Champion*.

⁵⁴ William Roberts, "Don Juan: a Poem," *British Review* 14 (Aug. 1819): 266-68; a review of *Don Juan*, *Gentleman's Magazine* 89.2 (Aug. 1819): 152; a review of *Don Juan* in the *Monthly Magazine* 48 (Aug.

fifteen reviews were issued in the first year after the first two cantos of *Don Juan* were published. With the exception of *The Edinburgh Monthly Review* and Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*, most of the reviews treat the poem and the poet as something that should be avoided.

Among many unfavorable reviews of the first volume of *Don Juan*, the *British Critic* in particular was extremely hostile towards the poem and the poet. As a conservative and High Church Tory periodical, *British Critic* had contributed to the suppression of the revolutionary moods in Britain since 1793 and also had enjoyed the support of William Pitt and many leading church members. Thus, being treated negatively by such a politically conservative review can inversely draw positive attention from the revolutionary faction of society. Quoting only eighteen stanzas out of the 338 stanzas of the two cantos, the reviewer tries to destroy Byron's reputation. The review asserts that "all this . . . is very facetious," and "[s]urely this is trash—trash of the lowest order, and the dullest species" (*British Critic* 199, 200). Like *Blackwood's* treatment of the blasphemous cannibalistic scene, the *British Critic* also avoids quoting those stanzas and instead remarks, "[o]f the blasphemous sneers, so liberally scattered through the present volume, it is our intention to say but little" (203). Before closing the review, the reviewer discourages readers from reading or buying the "manual of profligacy" (202):

1819): 56; a review of *Don Juan* in *New Monthly Magazine* 12 (Aug. 1819): 75-78; a review of *Don Juan* in *New Bon Ton Magazine* 3 (Aug. 1819): 234-39; "Don Juan.—Lord Byron's Poetry," *The Edinburgh Monthly Review* 2 (Oct. 1819): 468-86; Leigh Hunt, the *Examiner* (Oct. 31, 1819): 700-02.

We are the more anxious to present to the reader all that is worthy of his approbation, as we trust that the work itself will never be read, but in a Review. The good sense, and the good feeling of the English nation must, and will banish it from their houses. We should have the worst opinion indeed of any man, upon whose family table this volume were to lie exposed. (204)

Despite the review's intention to protect prospective readers from corruption by reading the immoral and blasphemous poem, the reality is that this kind of deliberate preclusion, also shown in *Blackwood's* review, which merely hints at the contents of an extraordinary and dangerous poem, could at the same time stimulate readers' curiosity rather than suppressing their interests. Furthermore, such an interest from readers, who might otherwise have remained apathetic, would eventually lead them to purchase the volume or at least to read the controversial pages to satisfy their curiosity. Even though William Blackwood refused to sell the 25 copies of *Don Juan* that Murray sent on July 21, 1819, saying that "I am sorry to say it is a book which I could not sell on any account whatever," and Smiles attests that "[t]he Poem was severely criticized, but this only increased the public interest in it" (1: 405). And the sales figures of the poem in the following year also confirm this interest despite the focus in many of these reviews on the poem's immorality and blasphemy.⁵⁵

As a matter of fact, though none of the reviews of the first two cantos deals with *Don Juan* as being politically radical, being treated negatively by such a politically

⁵⁵ For a brief overview of the reception of *Don Juan*, see *BinE* 27-43.

conservative review as the *British Critic* could draw positive attention from the revolutionary faction of society. As Paul Graham Trueblood argues, the unfavorable criticism was “motivated primarily by the dominant political and religious prejudices of the day, rather than by the principles of true literary criticism” (96). In other words, periodical reviews significantly increased the perceived seriousness of the poem in spite of its “seriocomic” aspect (Trueblood 1).⁵⁶ Having foreseen the censure of the poem on the grounds of its immorality in its contents, Byron must have been more or less cautious not to present too much politically dangerous material in the first volume because of his concern about losing guardianship of his daughter, as he states several times in letters to Murray of December 4, 1819, November 23, 1820, and February 8, 1822, and to Hobhouse of June 22, 1820, for instance.⁵⁷

Byron’s carefulness is borne out by not a few reviewers and critics who claimed that the first volume, in effect, did not have anything seriously problematic, especially in terms of political radicalism. For example, a reviewer remarks in an early review in July 1819,

for although the book is infinitely more immoral than the publications or the practices against which the prosecutions of the Society for the Suppression of Vice are usually directed, we find nothing in it that could

⁵⁶ Trueblood uses this term “seriocomic” for the juxtaposition of serious and comic elements in *Don Juan* (1, 72). Other modern critics such as Stabler have commented on this sort of mixture of contrary elements (19). In addition, Byron’s contemporaries also noticed this correctly. For examples, Hunt, in his review of the first two cantos, comments on “this heterogeneous mixture” of serious and comic styles (*The Examiner* (Oct. 31, 1819): 700). Byron probably first developed this particular style from his reading of Alexander Pope’s works judging from a letter to Murray, in which Byron talks about the merits of Pope’s *Essay on Man* including its “serious & comic” style (*BLJ* 8: 94).

⁵⁷ For the letters, see *BLJ* (6: 252); (7: 238); (9:104); (7: 121).

be likely to be regarded as actionable either by that association or his Majesty's Attorney General.⁵⁸

More than anything else, what is important about this review is the fact that it was written by one of the most famous old-generation radicals, John Thelwall.⁵⁹ We can see from Thelwall's review that conservative reviews had more reason to react against the poem apart from its real contents than did radical reviews.

John Wilson Croker, whose famous review of *Endymion* (1818) in the *Quarterly Review*, Byron and Shelley believed, had contributed to John Keats's death, also shares Thelwall's view.⁶⁰ In two letters to Murray written on July 18, 1819, and on September 15, 1819, Croker responds to Murray's apprehension about the poem's contents. First, a day after its publication, Croker states,

I am agreeably disappointed at finding 'Don Juan' very little offensive. It is by no means worse than 'Childe Harold,' which it resembles as comedy does tragedy. There is a prodigious power of versification in it, and a great deal of very good pleasantry. There is also some magnificent poetry, and the shipwreck, though too long, and in parts very disgusting, is on the whole finely described. In short, I think it will not lose him any character as a poet, and on the score of morality, I confess it seems to me a more innocent production than 'Childe Harold.' What 'Don Juan' may become

⁵⁸ Thelwall, a review of *Don Juan*, *The Champion* (July 25, 1819): 472.

⁵⁹ Thelwall was tried for treason with Thomas Hardy and John Horne Tooke in 1794, but more than 6,000 people signed for his acquittal. He later concentrated on journalism after purchasing the *Champion* in 1818.

⁶⁰ For Croker's review of *Endymion*, see "Keats's *Endymion*," *The Quarterly Review* 19. 37 (April 1818): 204-08.

by-and-bye I cannot foresee, but at present I had rather a son of mine were Don Juan than, I think, any other of Lord Byron's heroes. Heaven grant he may never resemble any of them. (Jennings 1: 145-46)

About two month later, Croker writes to Murray again and reconfirms his thought about the poem's contents:

I told you from the first moment that I read 'Don Juan,' that your fears had exaggerated its danger. I say nothing about what may have been suppressed; but if you had published 'Don Juan' without hesitation or asterisks, nobody would have ever thought worse of it than as a larger Beppo, gay and lively and a little loose. Some persons would have seen a strain of satire running beneath the gay surface, and might have been vexed or pleased according to their temper; but there would have been no outcry either against the publisher or author. (Jennings 1: 145)

Despite Croker's reassurance that "[Murray's] fears had exaggerated its danger," however, politically radical sections of the society gradually took advantage of *Don Juan* regardless of its contents or the author's intention.⁶¹

One of the causes that made the first cantos seem more politically radical than they really were was Hunt's advocacy of the poem and the poet in his review. As most of the favorable reviewers of the poem had pointed out, Hunt addresses the core of the criticism—questions of the poem's morality. Challenging the existing hostile reviews, Hunt defends the morality of the poem. He asserts, "*Don Juan* is accused of being an

⁶¹ This point will be examined in the second part of this chapter in detail.

‘immoral’ work, which we cannot at all discover.”⁶² In this early review of the poem, Hunt correctly understood what Byron revealed in a letter to Murray on December 25, 1822, when seven new cantos, the sixth to the twelfth, were in Kinnaird’s hands and ready for publication. Byron, still not sure of the final publisher of the remaining cantos, reflects on the composition of *Don Juan*: “D[on] Juan will be known by and bye for what it is intended a satire on abuses of the present states of Society—and not an eulogy of vice” (*BLJ* 10: 68). Hunt’s reading of *Don Juan*, from its first cantos, is very acute. With regard to the adultery between Juan and Julia, Hunt explains in the *Examiner*, “the organ of the Cockney School” and “a powerful voice for the left at the time” (Cox 43, 33):

Lord Byron does no more than relate the consequences of certain absurdities. If he speaks slightly of the ties between a girl and a husband old enough for her father, it is because the ties themselves *are* slight. He does not ridicule the bonds of marriage generally, or where they are formed as they should be: he merely shows the folly and wickedness of setting forms and opinions against nature. If stupid and selfish parents will make up matches between persons whom difference of age or disposition disqualifies for mutual affection, they must take the consequences:--but we do not think it fair that a poet should be exclaimed

⁶² Hunt, a review of *Don Juan*. *The Examiner* (Oct. 1819): 701.

against as a promoter of nuptial infidelity because he tells them what those consequences are.⁶³

Hunt interprets Byron's satire as something that "ridicule[s] and point[s] out the effects of absurd contradictions of human feelings and passions, and help[s] to bring about a reformation of such practices."⁶⁴ This interpretation is supported by what Byron said to Murray concerning the accusations of immoral contents in the poem, which made Murray reluctant to publish it quickly. In response to Murray's apprehension, Byron maintains that *Don Juan* is the most moral of poems:

If they had told me the poetry was bad, I would have acquiesced; but they say the contrary and then talk to me about morality—the first time I ever heard the word from anybody who was not a rascal that used it for a purpose. I maintain that it is the most moral of poems; but if people won't discover the moral, that is their fault, not mine. (*BLJ* 6: 99)

Although the first volume of *Don Juan* was criticized for having immoral contents, Byron, according to his letter, wanted his readers to correct the immorality, not to praise it. Regardless of whether Hunt's criticism is correct or not, however, the advocacy by the once-imprisoned political radical and "King of the Cockneys" provided a negative influence on the reception of the poem. In addition, we cannot overlook the possible motive that *Blackwood's* might have had when it initiated the attack on *Don Juan*, considering the fact that the magazine had launched the Cockney School attack in 1817.

⁶³ Hunt, *The Examiner* (Oct. 1819): 701.

⁶⁴ Hunt, *The Examiner* (Oct. 1819): 701.

The relationship between Byron and Hunt had been developing for a long period of time.⁶⁵ Their relationship had first begun on May 20, 1813, when Thomas Moore introduced them while Hunt was in prison for the supposed libel of the Prince Regent in an article, “The Regent on St. Patrick’s Day,” in the *Examiner*:

In short, that this *delightful, blissful, wise, pleasurable, honorable, virtuous, true*, and *immortal* Prince, was a violator of his word, a libertine over head and ears in debt and disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, a man who has just closed half a century without one single claim on the gratitude of his country or the respect of posterity!⁶⁶

For this article, Leigh Hunt and his brother were sentenced to pay fines of £500 each and were imprisoned for two years. Byron met regularly with Leigh Hunt for months until the end of 1813, although the number of their meetings would be significantly lessened in the following years until Byron left England in April 1816. Byron even expressed his wish to maintain the relationship with Hunt even longer. In a letter of December 2, 1813, he writes, “It is my wish that our acquaintance or—If you please accept it—friendship may be permanent” (*BLJ* 3: 189).⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Hunt’s brother, John Hunt, would eventually become the official publisher of *Don Juan* (from the sixth canto on) after Byron’s farewell to Murray in November 1822. For the letter that contains Byron’s official farewell to Murray, see *BLJ* (10: 28).

⁶⁶ *The Examiner*, 221 (March 22, 1812): 179; or also see Hunt, *Autobiography* (126-27). For more about the article, see Ch. 8, “The Regent and the Examiner,” *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries* (2: 114-35). This chapter contains Hunt’s article in full.

⁶⁷ See also another letter dated December 22, 1813 in *BLJ* (3: 203).

It is certain that Byron and Hunt's association attracted some attention from the conservative party, considering the generally repressive mode of the society, which even included the employment of numerous spies, but they were not yet publicly treated as a set of radicals. When, in 1816, Byron became the target of social condemnation due to his separation from his wife and the pirated publication of his "Fare thee Well" and "A Sketch from Private Life" in the *Champion* of April 14, 1816, by John Scott, Hunt went forward to defend the Lord.⁶⁸ On April 21, 1816, when Byron's separation from his wife was agreed upon and signed, Hunt published "Distressing Circumstances in Private Life." Here he defended Byron against the public's rampant accusations:

We have the honour of knowing the Noble Poet, and as friendship is the first of principles in our theory, involving as it does the final purposes of all virtue itself, we do not scruple to confess, that whatever silence we may have thought ourselves bound to keep with regard to qualities which he could not have possessed, had he been such as the scandal-mongers represented him, we should . . . have stood by him and his misfortunes to the last. But knowing him as we do, one fact at least we are acquainted

⁶⁸ For a detailed discussion of the poem and its publication, see McGann's comments in "What Differences Do the Circumstances of Publication Make to the Interpretation of a Literary Work?" (*Byron and Romanticism* 77-92). Here McGann analyzes the publication of the poem and states that it was "intentionally designed to hurt his wife personally and damage her in public" as well as "to forge indirectly a sympathetic image of [Byron] himself" (100, 146). Chew also treats this in *BinE* 19-26. "From the columns of [the *Champion* these poems] were widely copied in the press. There followed immediately a number of pirated editions of Lord Byron's *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances*," for example by R. Edwards and William Hone, as Chew states (*BinE* 19).

with; and that is, that these reckless calumniators know nothing about the matter. (qtd. in Roe 254)⁶⁹

As William Marshall states, “[t]he purpose of the article was to crush rumors about Byron which had arisen from ‘the base passions of the scandalizers,’ and the heart of the article was an unqualified assertion of confidence” (8). In the next issue of the *Examiner*, three days after Byron’s farewell to England, Hunt defends Byron’s position again with his own, signed poem, “To the Right Honourable Lord Byron, on His Departure for Italy and Greece.”⁷⁰ Therefore, it is highly probable that people had already associated Byron with the Cockneys long before literary periodicals would criticize Byron for associating with the Hunt brothers. Indeed, after John Hunt became the official publisher with the sixth canto of *Don Juan*, many reviewers of the later cantos emphasize Byron’s literary affiliation with the Hunt brothers, which was also treated as a political one.

The involuntary association of the early cantos of *Don Juan* with political radicals, and therefore the assumed political meaning of the poem, was not a simple matter. The meanings of a literary work can be altered by a number of circumstantial differences, including such variations as who is reading it, where it is being read, why it is being read, where it was sold, and who sold it. Furthermore, any given work might be printed by different publishers, in different physical formats, and sold by different agents, so each printed text can come to have its own meaning, different from other editions of

⁶⁹ For the original source for this quotation, see *The Examiner* 434 (April 21, 1816): 248-49. William H. Marshall also quotes this passage and comments on Byron and Hunt’s relationship during this period; for this, see *Byron, Shelley, Hunt, and the Liberal* (8-9).

⁷⁰ Hunt, *The Examiner* 45 (April 28, 1816): 266-67.

the same work. The dynamics and complexity of meaning-formation happen because the object and the subject of reading, i.e., a text and a reader, cannot be entirely free from the influences of their numerous social surroundings. Thus, considering what McKenzie designates as this sociology of texts, McGann asks us to read a text within its socio-political perspective, and Tanselle argues that every text takes on a life of its own when it leaves its author's hands. Likewise, the numerous pirated editions contributed much to this transformation of meaning in the early cantos of Byron's *Don Juan* because they added diverse meanings to those of the original edition.

3.2. William Hone Exploiting *Don Juan*

Even before Hunt published his review defending *Don Juan* in the *Examiner*, there was a different kind of politics at work in the publication and reception of the poem in 1819. Other problems that frustrated both the publisher and the author immediately after the publication of *Don Juan* included the many unauthorized piratical editions, imitations, and false continuations of *Don Juan* printed by various radical publishers, including J. Onwhyn, William Hone, William Sherwin, Richard Carlile, William Clark, William Benbow, William Dugdale, and Antonio Galignani.⁷¹ Among these piratical publishers, Carlile's main business was the publication of the works of Paine, but he also boldly published Southey's *Wat Tyler*, which jeopardized the Poet Laureate's status in 1818. Hone was notorious as a radical publisher from the mid-1810s

⁷¹ These were the publishers who were in business during the late 1810s and the 1820s.

to the 1820s for his political pamphleteering. Benbow was a radical pressman who reprinted Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Queen Mab* and made it available to the working class radicals as an influential radical canon, and Dugdale was notorious as a publisher of works of pornography. These radical pressmen, discussed in detail in Iain McCalman's *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840* (1988), were the major driving forces that engineered the radical reform movement from the late 1810s. Indeed, there were so many piratical editions of *Don Juan* that it is difficult to make even a rough estimate of the circulation scale of the poem because most of these piratical editions were published by radical publishers and their business ledgers, which would have included records of print runs, are not available.

Murray, whose business was undoubtedly affected by these piratical editions, consulted his principle attorney, Sharon Turner, about getting an injunction against these publishers, and their correspondences show that Murray was especially preoccupied with this issue from September to November 1819.⁷² In a letter dated October 21, 1819, sent to Murray, Turner even states, "The evil, if not stopped, will be great. It will circulate in a cheap form very extensively, injuring society wherever it spreads" (Smiles 1: 406). About a week before receiving this letter, Murray had already expressed his concerns in a letter to Byron on October 15, 1819, and Byron replied on October 29, 1819, berating him for the problem and saying, "You should not let those fellows publish false 'Don Juans'" (*BLJ* 6: 236). Of course, the first and foremost reason for Byron to be get angry about those false editions has much to do with his worry about the possibility of losing

⁷² About Murray's correspondences with Turner, see Smiles 1: 405-09.

guardianship of his daughter, Ada, as he repeatedly mentions in his later letters.⁷³

However, contrary to the author's stated intentions, *Don Juan* gradually came to be associated with the radical discourse of the time, even from its first installment.

Ironically, pirated editions of *Don Juan* were easily able to imitate Murray's official edition because of his decision not to include either the publisher's nor the author's names on the title page of the poem in order to protect himself.⁷⁴ As aforementioned, Onwhyn issued the earliest pirated edition in 1819, and others joined the market in the following years—Galignani in 1819, Sherwin in 1820, Gilley in 1820, and Benbow in 1822—satisfying the demands from customers of diverse financial statuses and widening the readership of *Don Juan*.⁷⁵ Thus, by 1822, after the publication of the poem, cantos three, four, and five had been published (this installment was published on August 7, 1821), public readers could choose one of at least seven different

⁷³ For instance, Byron talks about this issue in two letters to Murray of 4 Dec. 1819 (*BLJ* 6: 252) and of 23 Dec. 1820 (*BLJ* 7: 238).

⁷⁴ As is well-known, Murray put only the printer's name, Thomas Davison of Whitefriars, on the title page of *Don Juan*. Not much is known about Davison due to the lack of records about him, even though he was one of the printers with whom Murray worked for a long time. As a matter of fact, Davison was a principle printer commissioning 313 works from 1812-31 according to Peter Isaac in "Byron's Publisher and His 'Spy': Constancy and Change among John Murray II's Printers" (3). Furthermore, at approximately the same time when Davison worked as a printer in London, there lived another publisher with the same name. According to Iain McCalman, the latter was, however, rather well-known as an ultra-radical pressman who published "*Medusa*, *London Alfred and Deist's Magazine* and . . . others such as the *Cap of liberty* (edited by James Griffin) and *Theological Comet* (edited by Robert Shorter)" (154). Murray's Davison was famous for "[the] improvement which he made in ink, (a secret which he had for a long time the exclusive possession) and of other merits, he acquired great celebrity; and few indeed of his competitors, could approach the characters of what issued from his press" (Timperley 919).

⁷⁵ St Clair remarks, "Little is known of Onwhyn except that he had earlier been convicted of seditious libel" (*RNRP* 683). For sample copies of each version, see Sherwin: BOD (Bodleian) 12 THETA 546 (6); Gilley: BOD 280 f.2000 (1) (a false New York edition); Galignani BOD 12 THETA 563 (2) (this is the 1820 edition; the 1819 edition which was sold at 3 francs, sterling equivalent 2.4 shillings (*RNRP* 683); and Benbow: BOD 12 THETA 743. Onwhyn must also have pirated the second installment of *Don Juan* (cantos 3, 4, and 5), judging from the 1821 edition of the poem. For this, see BOD 13 THETA 31.

editions of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, including Murray's two official editions (both the quarto and octavo editions). Readers' decisions concerning which edition of a text to purchase very often depend upon the price of the product if the quality of the cheaper edition is not significantly inferior, so it is possible that the cheap pirated volumes were the more popular versions among *Don Juan* readers.⁷⁶ Murray's feelings about the matter, as Blann rightly points out, must be echoed in William Wickwar's statement that "A poem by the greatest poet of the day may have been a bestseller; but there was little to be gained by being its original publisher when there was no lack of pirates in London and in Paris, and no means for restraining them" (267).

Still, rampant pirated editions could present problems not only for the publisher but also for some customers, despite the wider and cheaper availability of such editions. When collecting Byron's works or the ensuing cantos of *Don Juan* in a volume in one binding, for instance, some readers might choose a cheap piratical edition instead of Murray's expensive edition, while other readers might buy a pirated one without even realizing what they were getting. A combination of these scenarios could result in an extraordinary mixture of the official and the piratical editions of Byron's collected works or all the cantos of *Don Juan* in one volume, whether it happened deliberately for financial reasons or out of ignorance. Indeed, an example volume in the Bodleian Library demonstrates the possibility of such a volume. This volume is a collection of eight of Byron's works, as follows:

⁷⁶ The rather slow sale of Murray's octavo edition supports this: "[3,000 copies of the octavo edition were] sold out by about 1822. Another 750 copies were printed but 288 copies were still unsold in 1843," according to St Clair (*RNRP* 683).

- (1) *Manfred, A Dramatic Poem*, second edition
- (2) *The Prisoner of Chillon and Other Poems* (London: John Murray, 1816)
- (3) *Beppo, A Venetian Story*, second edition (London: John Murray, 1818)
- (4) *The Liberal* No. II “Heaven and Earth, A Mystery”
- (5) *Beppo, A Venetian Story*, third edition (London: John Murray, 1818)
- (6) *Don Juan* (London: Sherwin, 1820)
- (7) *Don Juan* (London: J. Onwhyn, 1819)
- (8) *Don Juan, Canto the Third* (William Hone, 1819).⁷⁷

Judging from the condition of the binding, it is certain that this volume must have been bound sometime later, likely in the twentieth century, but the assortment of texts in the volume suggests that this could happen to anyone, at any time, who does not have ample knowledge of the exact history of the publication of each work. Furthermore, we can see that the meanings of literary works can be altered by numerous factors expected by neither publishers nor authors. For example, in this strange collection of Byron’s works, Hone’s fake *Don Juan* closes the volume, and this radical poem can affect the meanings of the works bound in this volume regardless of whether this volume is read by someone who is ignorant or knowledgeable of the publication history of the works involved in the volume.

⁷⁷ For this volume, see BOD 12 THETA 546. Another example of this kind of volume is housed in Bodleian Library: shelfmark, 12 THETA 743. This volume is a collection of the cantos of *Don Juan* from the first to the sixteenth, most of which are piratical editions.

Alongside the piratical editions of the first installment of *Don Juan*, the forged editions also attract our attention. In a letter to Murray, Byron complains in particular about the published imitations of *Don Juan* (*BLJ* 6: 236). There were many of them in the years following the original publication, but especially so after Byron's death because *Don Juan* is an unfinished work. The sixteenth canto was the last published canto, printed in March 1824, which left a part of the seventeenth canto unpublished.⁷⁸ Thus, many spurious continuations of *Don Juan* were issued to make a profit by taking advantage of the already formed *Don Juan* market. Chew lists twenty-nine forgeries of this kind (*BinE* 44-75). Furthermore, about one-half of the false continuations that Chew lists were published after 1832 during the Victorian period. This surely attests to people's continuing interest in this particular work and the noble poet's unceasing popularity even after his death.⁷⁹

Among the many forgeries, the early ones following the first installment most greatly affected the reception of *Don Juan*. In 1819 alone, there were at least three false continuations of the first two cantos, and in 1820 Sherwood issued *Don Juan, Canto XI*, though Sherwood's edition would obviously not have received much attention from the potential buyers because the title itself clearly addresses that it is not a proper sequel to *Don Juan* in any way when there was only one volume containing the first two cantos in

⁷⁸ The fragment of the seventeenth canto was first published in 1903 by John Murray in *The Works of Lord Byron: A New, Revised and Enlarged Edition with illustrations*. ed. E. H. Coleridge (6: 608-12).

⁷⁹ For the description of the arrival of Byron's dead body in London, see "Lord Byron in Greece," *Westminster Review* 2 (July-October, 1824): 258-59.

the market in 1820.⁸⁰ One of the two continuations published in 1819 was William Wright's *Don Juan: With a Biographical Account of Lord Byron and His Family: Anecdotes of His Lordship's Travels and Residence in Greece, at Geneva, &c. Including also a Sketch of the Vampire Family*, which advertised itself as *Don Juan Canto III* on its title page.⁸¹ Byron was certainly referring to this edition and Hone's when he wrote a letter to Richard Hoppner on October 29, 1819. He writes, "Murray sent me a letter yesterday—the impostors have published—two new *third* Cantos of *Don Juan*—the devil take the impudence of some blackguard bookseller or other therefore" (*BLJ* 6: 237).⁸² However, as Chew claims, Wright's volume cannot be properly identified among the continuations of *Don Juan* because it is rather "a grossly false and hostile review of Byron's life" (31).

Another notable but more important forgery was Hone's *Don Juan, Canto the Third*. According to Leslie A. Marchand, this false continuation of *Don Juan* was

⁸⁰ For this 1820 edition, see BOD 280 e.282; *BinE* 51-52. Chew only lists two versions of the forgery of the third canto of *Don Juan* published in 1819: Hone's *Don Juan, Canto the Third* and William Wright's *A New Canto* (*BinE* 49-51). However, Frederick Wilse Bateson's *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: Index* (4: 198) lists three of this kind available in 1819: [William Hone?] *Don Juan, Canto the Third*; *Don Juan: with a Biographical Account of Lord Byron. Canto III*; and *A New Canto*. Chew's second item in his list of false *Don Juans*, *A New Canto*, however, is attributed to William Wright, the printer of this version, but the British Library Catalogue ascribes this work to Lady Caroline Lamb who had had an affair with Byron and published *Glenarvon* in 1816 (BL shelfmark: 11644.d.20). William Wright also published *Don Juan: with a Biographical Account . . .* which can be found in the John Murray Archive in the NLS (item number: AB. 4. 83. 2). For this version by Wright, also see Thomas James Wise, *A Bibliography of the Writings in Verse and Prose of George Gordon Noel, Baron Byron* (2: 73). *A New Canto* is not listed in Wise's *Bibliography*; however, Wright seems to have been much involved in exploiting Byron's celebrity status, judging from the fact that he published more books on Byron than he published on anyone else, including *Letters to the Right Hon. Lord Byron. By John Bull* (1821) (see Wise 77) and *Letters to Lord Byron On a Question of Poetical Criticism* (1822) (see Wise 78).

⁸¹ John Murray Archive (AB. 4.83.2), and also in *BinE* 31.

⁸² About Murray's letter that Byron mentions, see *LJM* 292.

available in the market only four days after the original publication of the first volume.⁸³ There seems to be an on-going debate among today's literary critics regarding the dates of publication of this and another of Hone's works, '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked*, both of which took advantage of the public's interests in Byron's *Don Juan* in 1819. Some critics, such as Peter Manning and Robinson Blann, think that it was '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked*, rather than *Don Juan, Canto the Third*, that was published fewer than four days after the first two cantos were published.⁸⁴ Peter Cochran convincingly points out that "[t]o write, print, and publish a poem in 114 stanzas of ottava rima in such a short time seems impossible" (5). Cochran also remarks that the date of fewer than "four days" seems to have come from R. E. Prothero ("William Hone" 5), though Marchand later used the date in *Byron's Letters and Journals* (6: 236).

These "two new *third* Cantos" could have been Wright's and Hone's, but without a record of the publications, it is difficult to decide which one of Hone's *Don Juans* was published first. We do not know with complete certainty that '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked* was published earlier than *Don Juan, Canto the Third*, but it is very probable, considering what Cochran points out with regard to the impossibility of publishing *Don Juan, Canto the Third* such a short time after the publication of the first two cantos and the contents of '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked*, in which Hone primarily reveals the author and the publisher of the anonymously published first two cantos in a style of a literary review which quotes a significant number of stanzas from the original. In

⁸³ For the date, see *BLJ* (6: 236n3). For more about the content of Hone's edition, see Grimes 192-94.

⁸⁴ For these arguments, see *RNRP* 231; Blann 67.

addition, unless Hone had wanted to waste his time and money, there would have been no need to issue a pamphlet like *'Don John,' or Don Juan Unmasked* months later when most of Byron's readers already knew the author and the publisher of the controversial work which was already available at cheaper prices. On the contrary, if this pamphlet had been available right after the publication of the expensive quarto which had been the topic of conversations everywhere, the publication would have been so timely that Hone would easily have sold a significant number of copies. We cannot answer this question definitively here, so this dissertation follows Marchand's date for *Don Juan, Canto the Third* since his *BLJ* is still the most authoritative reference about Byron, but this question obviously needs further attention from Byron scholars.

The external influences of Hone's *Don Juan, Canto the Third*, such as the radical content and the publisher's political identity, could significantly add unexpected and diverse meanings to the early reception of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*. Kyle Grimes offers a brief summary of the content and plot of Hone's edition: "Juan marries Haidee . . . and moves to London, where Juan establishes himself as the chief writer and editor of a newspaper called *The Devil'd Biscuit*" (192). Byron is presented as the first-person narrator of the 114 stanzas of this poem, and he dedicates the third canto to Mr. Hone in the opening stanza:

Miss Haidee and Don Juan pleaded well;
 At least my publisher *of late* so tells me,
 Although the world he does not chuse to tell,
 Yet, every body knows 'tis he who sells me:

To sing what furthermore the *pair* befell,
 (As he declines my book and thus compels me,
 Because my "*guinea trash*" he will not own,)

 I send this Canto into Mr. Hone. (stanza 1)⁸⁵

Hone also uses asterisks in stanza 20 in his version, either to make this fake edition look more like an official continuation of the first two cantos or simply to ridicule Murray's use of asterisks in stanzas 15, 129, and 131 in the official edition. And Murray, the official publisher of the previous cantos in the expensive quarto, is portrayed as "Drab John" in the poem and criticized as a fashionable elite publisher, as opposed to Juan who becomes a radical publisher for the public on the street. In one stanza in Hone's edition, the narrator even states, "I am a decent *judge* of Nerve and Bone / I'd rather *try* Drab John than Mr. Hone" (4). The poem also reveals Juan's motive for becoming a radical publisher. In the poem, Juan "sat up for himself as publisher / Of Rubbish on Reform / . . . / [like] Sherwin, or Waston, Hunt, Carlile, or Wooler" (18).⁸⁶ Whereas Juan was portrayed as an immoral youth having an affair with a married woman in the original version of *Don Juan*, Hone makes his Juan a radical publisher who could speak for the suppressed. Hone's Juan also maintains that *The Devil'd Biscuit* "[upholds] principles the same as [John] Locke did" (25), by which Hone influences the public reception of Byron's Juan by linking the poet and his hero to Lockean principles.

⁸⁵ For a sample copy of this poem, see BOD Dunston B 418. This text will be cited by stanza number.

⁸⁶ They were some of the famous radical publishers of the time. For example, Sherwin and Carlile published *Political Register*, Hunt published *The Examiner*, and Wooler published *Black Dwarf*.

Grimes further remarks on a very important point about Hone's use of Byron and his work:

Hone quite pointedly usurps the authority of Byron's voice, both in the direct ascription of the stanza's closing line and also in the easy adoption of the tone, style, and even personal pronoun of Byron's famous narrator. Clearly, Hone was quick to recognize and exploit the revolutionary potential of Byron's exotic narrator. In fact, Hone uses the narrator to found a claim on *Don Juan* itself, mockingly establishing his own narrator's voice as the "true one" and relegating Murray to the status of a cowardly and now superseded pretender to the admiration of the reading public. (193)

Considering the fact that Byron had very often been identified with the protagonists of his previous poems by the readers, Juan's decision to become a radical publisher in Hone's edition takes on an added significance in the early public reception of *Don Juan*.⁸⁷ As a matter of fact, when Byron's popularity was at its highest due to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *A Romaunt*, *The Giaour*, *The Corsair* and other works, many admirers of Byron—both young and old, from fashionable society to shop clerks—dreamed of becoming like Byronic heroes.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ About Byron's poetic impact on culture and his celebrity, see McDayter, *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture*.

⁸⁸ For instance, see a letter by an American Youth in London written in October 1813 and April 1814 in Cruse (218-21).

Throughout this false continuation, Hone tried to appropriate the highly controversial work for the radical discourse of the time. Moreover, as Grimes argues, it was because of Hone's parody that "*Don Juan* became in 1819 a field of cultural struggle wherein the Radical press—armed with its devastating weaponry of parodic wit—could, at least for a moment, symbolically seize control of the elite and exclusive literature of the day" (200-01). One of the most radical parts in this version is probably the following stanza:

The usual Resolutions then were read,
Which Hobhouse seconded with might and
main:
"Is this," he shouted, "England that we tread,
Or is it but the slavish soil of Spain?
Shall the petition for diurnal bread
Be answered here by saber or by chain?
Commended to the GOD OF BATTLES be
Our hope of vengeance and of victory." (75)

By incorporating Hobhouse into this direct censure of the oppressive government's practices of dealing with people's desperate needs with saber and chain, Hone, rhetorically speaking, sheds light on the fact that there was aristocratic Whig sympathy with the radical cause for the neglected working- and lower-class multitudes.

In 1819, Hobhouse contested the parliamentary seat for Westminster byelection after the suicide of Samuel Romilly in November 1818. During this period, Hobhouse,

supported by Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, his father, and Sir Francis Burdett, a Whig reformer, expressed himself as a radical politician in favor of reform, particularly through some of his writings issued in 1819 such as *A Defence of the People, in Reply to Lord Erskine's "Two Defences of the Whigs"* and *A Trifling Mistake in Thomas Erskine's Recent Preface*. Because of the latter pamphlet, he was arrested on December 14, 1819, and remained in custody until the end of the following February. Furthermore, Hobhouse, who founded a Whig Club when he was at Cambridge, was well-known as a close friend of Byron, so his voice would likely have been read as echoing Byron's, at least to a certain degree, especially while Byron was away from home.

As a matter of fact, however, Byron was not in favor of "radical" reformists, as is now well-known to Byron scholars, even if he also made it clear that he was "not against reform."⁸⁹ In a letter to Hobhouse dated April 22, 1820, Byron explains his political position and what he saw as the necessity of reform:

I protest, not against *reform*—but my most thorough contempt and abhorrence—of all that I have seen, heard, or heard of [*sic*] the persons calling themselves *reformers*, *radicals*, and such other names,—I should look upon being free with such men, as much the same as being in bonds with felons.-- --I am no enemy to liberty. (*BLJ* 7: 81)

⁸⁹ Purinton draws our attention to the following points regarding Byron's politics: "Both D. M. De Silva . . . and John D. Jump . . . argue that Byron assumed that the leadership for reform movements rested solely with the enlightened gentry. Nothing in Byron's statements confirms this notion. David V. Erdman points out that Byron simply identified himself with the 'genteel' or 'respectable part' of the reformers, even though he could not fully concur with their principles" (*Romantic Ideology Unmasked* 176n23).

Though “Byron supported the overthrow of tyranny and foreign domination,” as Marjean Purinton argues, “he simply found the Regency radicals and their revolutionary strategies wanting” and could not, therefore, give them his full support (56). In spite of his three parliamentary speeches in 1812 and 1813—made against the passage of the Frame-work Bill, for the Catholic Emancipation, and in response to Major Cartwright’s plea for the freedom of petition, respectively—Byron did not present himself as a radical by further engaging in any conspicuous political behaviors or writings after his parliamentary speeches until after he left England in 1816.⁹⁰ Moreover, although these speeches once attracted the public’s attention, the outcomes of the radical thoughts to which Byron gave voice in them were not particularly successful and were not even supported by the Whig party.⁹¹

Indeed, McGann has argued that “Byron’s despair over his parliamentary schemes grew deeper as he contemplated both his own behavior and the attitude of those around him” (*Context* 17). Byron reflects on these problems in his journal in November 1813:

no one should be a rhymer who could be anything better. And this is what annoys one, to see Scott and Moore, and Campbell and Rogers, who might have all been agents and leaders, now mere spectators If I had

⁹⁰ These three parliamentary speeches were delivered on February 27, 1812, April 21, 1812, and June 1, 1813, respectively. About Byron’s maiden speech in particular, see chapter three of Dora Neill Raymond’s “The Maiden Speech” 34-48.

⁹¹ Even though Byron’s three parliamentary speeches were not politically successful, they worked as effective advertisements for his poetry, especially his maiden speech in the House of the Lords in 1812, which increased the overall sales of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*, published soon after he delivered this speech, as McGann reiterates (*Context* 17). Raymond also states that “by his speech, Byron told Dallas, he had given him the best possible advertisement for *Childe Harold*” (44).

any views in this country, they would probably be parliamentary. But I have no ambition; at least, if any, it would be *aut Caesar aut nihil*. My hopes are limited to the arrangement of my affairs and settling either in Italy or the East . . . , and drinking deep of the languages and literature of both. Past events have unnerved me; and all I can now do is make life an amusement, and look on while others play. (qtd. in *Context* 17)

Byron's political ambition was, according to the journal, completely discomfited by his unsuccessful debuts in Parliament, and he seems to have really lost all hope in politics. But this journal entry also shows Byron's belief that great literary figures should not be mere spectators of society. It is true that Byron alienated himself from politics for a long period of time after his initial parliamentary speeches, as he confessed here, but he could not simply abandon the ideals that he once had had in mind. Thus, as Purinton argues, "[Byron] had to seek another avenue of expression for his radical thinking" (58); he had to look for another place to realize his suppressed political fervor. Still, Byron did not openly announce his radical political position, preferring to say that he was a liberal rather than a "radical," a word he insisted was not even in his vocabulary as he states in one of his letters, even during the time when he was in Italy writing the first five cantos of *Don Juan*.⁹² The battleground for Byron, of course, was not in England, but overseas in Italy and Greece, and he found another arena for his political battles in writing the third volume of *Don Juan*, which began with the sixth canto, and would be published

⁹² About Byron's comment on the word "radical," see his letter of April 22, 1820, to Hobhouse in *BLJ* (7: 81).

with a different publisher, all of which will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Before this shift to a more radical position, however, Byron's relationship with the radicals of the period was rather complex. Many of Byron's letters clearly show his disgusted attitude towards the working-class radicals. For instance, in a letter to Murray written on February 21, 1820, when Hobhouse was still in custody, Byron expresses his dislike of the plebeian radicals. Here he states, "I am out of all patience to see my friends sacrifice themselves for a pack of blackguards—who disgust one with their Cause—although I have always been a friend to and a Voter for reform" (*BLJ* 7: 44). In the next month, in a letter dated March 29, 1820, Byron congratulates Hobhouse on his release from custody and advises him not to credit "such *infamous* Scoundrels as [Henry] Hunt and [William] Cobbett," whom he calls "ragamuffins" and part of "the whole gang" of radicals (*BLJ* 7: 63). He further adds,

I know that revolutions are not to be made with rose-water, but though some blood may & must be shed on such occasions, there is no reason it should be clotted—in short the Radicals seem to be no better than Jack Cade, or Wat Tyler—and to be dealt with accordingly. (*BLJ* 7: 63)

Byron comments on this issue again in the following year, stating in a letter to Hobhouse on October 12, 1821, "Still I can't approve the *ways* of the *radicals*—they seem such very low imitations of the Jacobins" (*BLJ* 8: 240). In other words, even though Byron might have potentially had radical leanings concerning the socio-political revolution, he did not express it openly in any of his writings until at least 1822.

In contrast to Byron's reserved expressions about radical reform, Hone introduces a much more radical Byron through his own version of *Don Juan*. In this way, Hone exploits the popularity of Byron and *Don Juan* for his radical cause of reform. Hone's edition, at the same time, reflects the highly volatile social situation at the moment when it was written and surprisingly prognosticates the massacre that would occur in the following month.⁹³ Adding this sort of radical discourse to the original (authorized) edition of *Don Juan*, even with a false continuation, strongly affects the meaning of the original text. Moreover, until the third, fourth, and fifth cantos of *Don Juan* were finally published in August 1821, Hone's fake continuation might have been the third canto purchased and read by many purchasers of *Don Juan*. This especially might have been the case for the working- and lower-class readers who thought of Byron as their demi-god due to the combination of his early image as a friend of liberty, built on the grounds of his past parliamentary speeches, and his celebrity status. Grimes attempts to calculate the circulation scale of Hone's canto, but he concludes that "it is not finally clear how widely Hone was able to distribute his *Don Juan, Canto the Third!* The scarcity of surviving copies would suggest only a limited circulation" (200).

While Grimes's point is worth considering, I would yet counter that we cannot assert that the canto had a very limited circulation simply because there is no record of the number of copies or sales. Moreover, if we consider Hone's professional sense in the business of piratical publications and the public's demand for the unprecedented literary

⁹³ If the publication date of this pamphlet were actually after the Massacre, as discussed earlier, this work would be read as reemphasizing the ferocity of the Tory government.

celebrity's work, there are enough reasons for us to believe that this fake version played a significant role in the readings of the authorized version for many readers. If Hone's version did not have such influence, Murray would not have had to worry about the false *Don Juans*, especially to the point of consulting his attorney Sharon Turner and informing Byron of the existence of such nuisances. In a letter dated November 12, 1819, Turner clearly suggests that Murray should take some legal action against Hone, as well as other piratical publishers. Turner received a somewhat favorable response from Mr. Shadwell, Vice-Chancellor, on the Chancellor's opinion of the usefulness of getting an injunction against the piratical editions of *Don Juan*; Turner recommends first and foremost that Murray should bring Hone to court to protect his business and Byron's reputation. Turner states, "Judge now for yourself. Shall I have a consultation between [the Chancellor] and Horne [*sic*] on the subject, for you to attend? Horne [*sic*] is our first man now before the Chancellor. Or will you try it without this, or abandon it?" (Smiles 1: 407). Without doubt, it was not Onwhyn but Hone that most concerned Murray, for it was Hone's fake continuation that added the most radical coloring to the existing original work, and that was a far more urgent thing for Murray to suppress than Onwhyn's cheaper, unauthorized edition.

Murray's concern about the radical content of *Don Juan* is further evident in some of his letters to Byron.⁹⁴ Croker responds to those concerns in a letter dated March 26, 1820, commenting, "A man of his birth, a man of his taste, a man of his talents, a man of his habits, can have nothing in common with such miserable creatures as we now

⁹⁴ For instance, see *LJM* 272-73.

call *Radicals*” (Smiles 1: 415). The radicals in Croker’s letter clearly include Hone whose fake version of *Don Juan, Canto the Third* and ‘*Don John, ’ or Don Juan Unmasked* had imposed a more radical coloring onto the original edition of *Don Juan* and even onto the noble author. Even though Croker firmly asserts that Byron cannot have anything in common with the working class radicals, an assumption grounded in his own class-bound biases, his statement yet shows that he was indeed aware of a perceptible tendency to relate the poem and the author to radicals. Such a tendency makes it clear, therefore, that Hone’s *Don Juan, Canto the Third* was not a minor issue in the public reception of the original poem, as Grimes suggests it was, but instead contributed significantly to the perception of the radical nature of Byron’s poem.

I have argued that Hone in particular (among the many publishers of forged editions) contributed significantly to both the political image-making of Byron as a radical and to the reading of *Don Juan* as a radical poem; we therefore should also consider Hone’s political position and reputation as one of the most dangerous and radical journalists in the revolutionary mood of the time.⁹⁵ About 90% of the 228 titles that Hone wrote, edited, and/or published were published during the years 1815-21 (Kent and Ewen 14).⁹⁶ Hone was famous for publishing and pirating seditious works,

⁹⁵ See the following scholarly publications on William Hone: Frederick William Hackwood, *William Hone, His Life & Times*; Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790- 1822*, esp. chapters 3 and 5 which treat Hone’s trial and his *Political House that Jack Built* in detail; Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England*; and Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840*.

⁹⁶ David A. Kent and D. R. Ewen quote these numbers from J. Anne Hone, “William Hone (1780-1842), Publisher and Bookseller: An Approach to Early Nineteenth-Century London Radicalism” (59-60). For the number of works in Hone’s corpus, also see Bowen vii; Bowen also provides a bibliography of Hone’s works (494-529).

and he contributed greatly to the cause of the freedom of the press, but he was also already notorious for pirating and parodying not a few of Byron's works. As a struggling London bookseller and publisher, Hone was always looking for profitable items on which to write or to publish, and he was keenly aware of what to choose from the most current issues that would satisfy the potential book-buyers' demands and make some money. Among such current issues, the Byron market—that is, anything related to either Byron or his works—was an undoubtedly lucrative field for publishers of pirated works.

Hone's parodies and piratical prints of Byron's works and his life began in 1816 when Byron was a hot issue among people's daily conversations due to his separation from Lady Byron, which attracted enormous attention from all corners of London.⁹⁷ As Chew remarks "[a]n incredible number of [the pirated editions of Lord Byron's *Poems on His Domestic Circumstances*] appeared from various presses, Hone's pamphlet alone going through fifteen editions in 1816" ("Pamphlets" 156).⁹⁸ Taking advantage of the increasing public interest in the noble lord and his private life, Hone published a bitter parody specifically treating the issue in *Poems on His Domestic Circumstances* and *Sketch from Public Life: A Poem, Found upon Recent Domestic Circumstances; with Weep Not for Me! and Other Poems*. In the following year, in 1817, he pirated a prose parody of Byron's *Corsair*, selling it at four pence, which was entitled, *Conrad, the Corsair; or, the Pirates' Isle. A Tale. By Lord Byron*. The title page of this volume

⁹⁷ For more on the public responses in print to Byron's separation, see *BinE* 19-26.

⁹⁸ Richard Edwards was another of the publishers of pirated editions of *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances Lord Byron . . . to which is prefixed. The Life of the Noble Author* (1816). In the same year Edwards also published another account of the separation in *A Narrative of the Circumstances which added the Separation of Lord and Lady Byron; Remarks on his Domestic Conduct and a complete Reputation of the Calumnies Circulated by Public Writers*, which sold for one shilling.

boldly reveals its place of publication as the “Reformists’ Register Office, 67, Old Bailey.”⁹⁹ Manning considers the implications of this move, stating,

Hone’s proud advertisement of his address attests the co-opting of Byron, long since departed from England, by the radical cause: and adaptation of *The Corsair* emanating from the *Reformists’ Register* office stands in quite another light than did the original, issued by the Tory John Murray from Albermale Street. (*Reading Romantics* 223)

This sort of bibliographical alternation opens the possibility of new meanings and new audiences because, as Hoagwood argues, “[a]gencies of book production are agencies of meaning production” (*Politics* 152). Furthermore, the illustration added to the title page of this edition, as Manning points out, could work as an immediate and sensational appeal to a different kind of reader, particularly radical, working-class purchasers, which Murray’s edition was not able to attract due to its high price and lack of illustrations (*Reading Romantics* 223). Perhaps most importantly, Hone could also further his own radical political agenda; “by producing and widely circulating inexpensive editions of works that had previously been available only to a wealthy few, [Hone] was seeking ways to destabilize the stratifications in the reading public and thus to blur the distinctions between the elite and the vulgar, the respectable press and the Radicals,” as Grimes argues (195).

⁹⁹ The *Reformists’ Register* was Hone’s political journal, so there are obvious radical implications of using its address as the place of publication for this parody of Byron’s work.

Focusing on the hottest socio-political issues that attracted the public's attention, most of Hone's publications attacked the government including the royal families and a number of government officials and thereby fueled the revolutionary moods of the time. Hone worked more and more often with George Cruikshank, especially between 1819 and 1821, most likely in order to penetrate more deeply into the lower-class readership and to ridicule the conservative faction of the society more effectively. During these years, their collaboration produced "sixteen pamphlets that revolutionized popular satire in pamphlet form" through the inclusion of many sensational caricature illustrations (Kent and Ewen 20). For example, *Facetiae and Miscellanies*, a collection of Hone's political satires and parodies, was published in 1827 and contained fourteen works that Hone had published previously. Included among the works in the volume were the fifty-third edition of *The Political House that Jack Built* (1821), the twenty-seventh edition of *The Man in the Moon* (1821), and the forty-fourth edition of *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* (1820).¹⁰⁰ Hone, in the title page of the *Facetiae*, proudly announces that this volume includes one hundred and twenty engravings by Cruikshank, and the illustration on the title page shows that he and Cruikshank are working together. These caricature engravings portray numerous events very succinctly, especially from a radical reformist's view, and reveal a number of social problems and political corruption. In this way, Hone could appeal more successfully to the socially-unsatisfied groups, and he

¹⁰⁰ It is difficult to verify if the numbers of the editions of the works included in this volume are all true, for we cannot exclude the possibility that they were inflated, as Murray seemed to do with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*. St Clair points out that "Murray frequently chang[ed] the title pages, pretending that there were ten editions [in 1814] when actually there were only six" (*RNRP* 586). Nicholas Mason also mentions this practice in "Building Brand Byron: Early-Nineteenth-Century Advertising and the Marketing of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*" (436).

furthered that appeal by selling most of his works at cheaper prices, often one shilling or sixpence, which were, to some extent, affordable prices for the people in these groups. The use of visual aids in his publication format undoubtedly made it far easier for Hone's target audiences to understand the contents. By being accessible in these ways to the socially- and financially-alienated, Hone's works were much more widely read than some other political writings.

As is also well-known, Hone's political satires that used forms and services from the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England—*The Political Litany*, *The Sinecurist's Creed*, *A Political Catechism*, *The Bullet Te Deum*, and *The Late John Wilkes's Catechism*—greatly attracted the government's attention. After these satires were published in early 1817, he was tried on *ex officio* charges of blasphemous and seditious libel in December 1817 (Kent and Ewen 15). However, he successfully defended himself in the trials that began December 18 and continued for three days, and Hone thereby became “a hero of radical cause” by some “twenty-five thousand people in the street outside the Guild Hall” (Kent and Ewen 10).¹⁰¹ He even published a vivid description of the proceedings in *The Three Trials of William Hone* (1818), “capitalizing on his own notoriety” after the trials (Kent and Ewen 10). The accounts of each trial sold quite well and had numerous print runs—twenty editions of the first trial, eighteen of the second, and sixteen of the third (Kent and Ewen 20). Hone was especially able to make his name stand out among the many radical publishers through the publication of his notorious trials, in addition to his political parodies and a radical journal.

¹⁰¹ For more about the trials of radicalism in the early nineteenth century, see Gilmartin 114-57.

While Hone was actively threatening the *status quo* by participating in radical pamphleteering, there was also great public interest in and attention to the radical discourse which complained of rampant political corruption and represented widespread social unrest at the same time. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 in particular, the complaints about famine and unemployment were at their highest, which led the public's attention to the journals speaking on behalf of those most affected. For instance, as Kent and Ewen remark, "Carlile's *Republican* sold fifteen thousand copies at the peak of its popularity; Wooler's *Black Dwarf*, twelve thousand (twice the number of the *Times* newspaper); and Cobbett's two penny *Political Register* from forty thousand to sixty thousand in 1816 and 1817" (14-15). In February 1817, not long before he was arrested on May 3, 1817, Hone also began to publish a radical journal entitled *Reformists' Register*—the name probably alludes to William Cobbett's *Political Register*, a radical journal first published in 1802 and mostly read by a working-class audience—and he continued the publication for eight months until October 1817. Even though Hone had to put an end to the radical journal quite early, he had been clearly and deeply involved in educating the working- and lower-class public and promoting an anti-government mood through his publishing business.¹⁰² Furthermore, as McCalman states, "[t]he countrywide popularity of Hone's political parodies of the Anglican litany and catechism—even before his triumphant court acquittals at the end of the year—was probably due in part to their advertised suitability to being 'said or sung' in alehouse

¹⁰² Though Hone clearly had financial motives for his publishing business—he had a large family, including thirteen children, to support—there is no reason to think Hone's political motives were less important than these financial concerns.

meetings” (122-23). Accordingly, we can easily understand both Hone’s powerful influence on the working-class readers and their considerable interest in Hone’s publications.

Among Hone’s many seditious and rebellious publications attacking the *status quo*, the most successful pamphlet of political satires in the entire period was *The Political House that Jack Built* (November 1819), an important work of Hone’s collaboration with Cruikshank. About 100,000 copies were sold until mid-1821 through numerous editions, and many of Hone’s later publications proudly advertise themselves as being published “by the author of *The Political House that Jack Built*” on their title pages.¹⁰³ This enormously notorious and popular work was first published in early December 1819 as a response to the Peterloo Massacre that resulted in the deaths of fifteen people and the injury of hundreds of people on August 16, 1819. Although this twenty-four-page pamphlet was published after the first volume of *Don Juan*, we cannot disregard its influence on Byron’s public image, the reception of his latest work in the market, and the reception and meanings of the cantos that would follow.

Moreover, even before Hone became so notorious with the Tory government and even more popular among working-class readers with the *Political House* at the end of 1819, his publication of ‘*Don John*,’ or *Don Juan Unmasked; Being A Key to the Mystery, Attending that Remarkable Publication; with A Descriptive Review of the poem*,

¹⁰³ The following publications are some examples bearing this kind of authorial identity: *The Political Showman At Home!* (20th ed., London, 1821), *The Queen’s Matrimonial Ladder* (43rd edition, London, 1820), *The Right Divine of Kings to Govern Wrong!* (London, 1821), and *A Slap at Slop* (London, 1822), all of which are included in *Facetiae*. See Kent and Ewen for more on the sales figures (20), which they borrow from Bowden (244).

and Extracts was a significant contribution to Byron's association with the radical cause.¹⁰⁴ This text offered an important additional perspective on the radical text and greatly attracted the public's attention to the first two cantos of Murray's *Don Juan* because it was the first and most extensive analysis of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*. Moreover, readers, even today, are attracted to the suggestion in the title that Hone "unmasks" what is hidden in *Don Juan*. To many Byron readers of the time, Hone's choice of title must have been intriguing enough to compel them to purchase the book. Furthermore, Hone sold it at the cheap price of 2 shillings, so it was relatively affordable to working-class readers, Hone's major customers, among the potential buyers. Thus, Hone's claim that '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked* had gone through three editions by 1821 may not be groundless.¹⁰⁵

Hone opens '*Don John, ' or Don Juan Unmasked* by quoting the very short but powerful advertisement that Murray had posted in the newspapers for the pending publication of *Don Juan*: "In a few days, DON JUAN." By foregrounding this mysterious and "enigmatical line," as Hone calls it (*Unmasked* 5), he highlights the fact that the anonymous publication *Don Juan* caused a sensational curiosity in the whole city of London. At the most obvious level, what Hone unmasks in this pamphlet is the identities of the author and publisher of *Don Juan*, which had actually already been known to everyone. If we suppose that this pamphlet had been published less than four

¹⁰⁴ For a copy of this item, see John Murray Archive at NLS, item number, Dur. 1424. The questions surrounding the publication timeline of this text and Hone's third canto were discussed at length above, pages 54-56, though I am following the timeline offered by Marchand, as stated earlier.

¹⁰⁵ Bowden's list of Hone's bibliography in *William Hone's Political Journalism, 1815-1821*, includes this work and marks that it has three editions (501).

days after the publication of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, as Manning and Blann think, it must have been very successful in its sales if only for the reason stated above. However, we should also consider that not a single literary review of *Don Juan* mentions Hone's review at all, so it is not safe to assert that this pamphlet had been published earlier than other reviews. Upon greater consideration, however, Hone does far more in '*Don John*,' or *Don Juan Unmasked* than merely revealing Byron as the author of the anonymous work published by Murray.

In the introductory part of '*Don John*,' or *Don Juan Unmasked*, Hone does not assume a position of promoting Byron, as we might expect him to do given his interest in the poem. Indeed, unlike many of Hone's other publications, his review of the first two cantos of *Don Juan* seems rather detached from his radical stance of attacking the *status quo* and fighting for the freedom of the press. This is what Hone presents as a review of the poem:

The poem is constructed like the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream—of fine gold, silver, iron, and clay. It abounds in sublime thought and low humour, in dignified feeling and malignant passion, in elegant wit and obsolete conceit. It alternately presents us with the gaiety of the ball-room, and the gloom of the scaffold—leading us among the airy pleasantries of fashionable assemblage, and suddenly conducting us to haunts of depraved and disgusting sensuality. (*Unmasked* 7)

Compared with other vitriolic reviews which attacked the immorality of the poem, the tone of Hone's criticism is much softer, and he highlights both the strengths and

weaknesses of the poem. He thereby tries to maintain an objective standpoint in his review, at least to a certain point, but the overall mood of the review is nevertheless unfavorable rather than complimentary of the poem. Before going into greater depth in his review of the poem by quoting many stanzas and offering comments, Hone writes, “But this poem has another character—it keeps no terms with even the common feelings of civilized man. It turns decorum into jest, and bids defiance to the established decencies of life. It wars with virtue, as resolutely as with vice” (*Unmasked* 8).

What also makes ‘*Don John,*’ or *Don Juan Unmasked* significant in the early reception of *Don Juan* is its boldness in quoting the stanzas from the original poem that so many reviewers refused to quote—most notably the blasphemous scenes from the second canto in which the shipwrecked sailors not only killed Juan’s spaniel and ate his hide but also ate Pedrillo (Juan’s tutor) and a boy, which are described for twenty-four stanzas, from stanza 67 to 90. Along with Juan’s illicit love affair with Julia, the cannibalism of these stanzas is a primary reason for the criticism in the early literary reviews of the poem: that is to say, immorality and blasphemy were the chief concerns for early reviewers. However, because most early reviews were more focused on the former issue of immorality, few dared to quote the blasphemous human-eating scenes except, for example, *New Monthly Review*, which quoted six stanzas dealing with the hunger-stricken sailors eating human bodies.

Instead, most reviews only commented in passing on those scenes or completely excluded them from the review. For example, the review in *European Magazine* (July 1819) did not even mention the scenes, and the one in the *Monthly Review* only provided

brief remarks without quoting any stanzas: “[Byron’s] account of the shipwreck in the wide ocean, followed by the miseries of some survivors in a boat, who are reduced to the necessity of feeding on their own companions, is terrible even to the ear” (319). And the *British Critic* review states, “[o]f the blasphemous sneers, so liberally scattered through the present volume, it is our intention to say but little” (203). The reluctance of the literary reviewers to quote the stanzas dealing with the cannibalism in the poem would have been due, at least in part, to their consideration for the female readers who were the primary readers of Byron’s works, as Hone suggests in the outset of *‘Don John,’ or Don Juan Unmasked*: “The ladies, as was natural, supposed [the mysterious advertisements of *Don Juan*] to be used as a signal for happiness” (5). Indeed, the poem’s critics thought that the immoral love affair with a young man as portrayed in the poem would possibly stimulate the minds of the sexually-oppressed female readers who might have longed for “the pleasure of digression,” as Stabler puts it (14). Women were expected to oppose such temptations, but Byron seems to have penetrated their minds when he writes in the poem,

But who, alas! Can love, and then be wise?
 Not that remorse did not oppose temptation;
 A little still she strove, and much repented,
 And whispering ‘I will ne’er consent’—consented. (1.117)

From this very famous last line, we can assume that this poem was seen as having the dangerous potential to provoke decent or even prudish ladies to dream of an immoral

love affair with a handsome young man, and Byron's own notoriety for his numerous affairs with young ladies added to that potential danger.

For these contradictory reasons, *Don Juan* might have been especially well-received by women, as Gailgnani reports later (Jack 85). Therefore, the literary reviewers had numerous reasons to condemn or suppress the scenes of the extramarital love affair by castigating them as immoral, but most importantly, they needed to protect female virtue and male authority in the family and society. In this light, the *British Critic* review even defined the poem as a prohibited book that should not be exposed upon the family table:

We are the more anxious to present to the reader all that is worthy of his approbation, as we trust that the work itself will never be read, but in a Review. The good sense, and the good feeling of the English nation must, and will banish it from their houses. We should have the worst opinion indeed of any man, upon whose family table this volume were to lie exposed. (204)

Instead of pointing out the real cause of the problem in the unnatural marriage bonds between a young lady and an old man in the poem, as Hunt did in his review, many literary reviews merely tried to treat the poem as something that could jeopardize the society as a whole.¹⁰⁶ The reviewer in the *British Critic* pointed out the danger of the poem even more clearly than other reviews by commenting on the poem as “a calm and deliberate design to palliate and recommend the crime of adultery, to work up the

¹⁰⁶ For Hunt's review, see pages 42-44 of this dissertation.

passions of the young to its commission, and to afford them the most practical hints for its consummation” (202). As concerned as the reviewers were, however, it is not clear how women of the time really felt about this kind of extramarital love: in other words, we cannot know whether they secretly enjoyed the forbidden immorality in the poem by the celebrity they adored or they simply closed the book, conceiving of it as something they should avoid reading.

When it comes to the cannibalistic scenes in the poem, however, the literary reviewers must have considered it better to remain silent on the issue in order not to taint their pages with such blasphemy rather than to criticize the sacrilegious author by quoting stanzas one by one. Obviously, the graphic cannibalistic scenes, in which the sailors are sucking the blood from luckless victims and eating their bodies, were not something the reviewers would have considered female readers to enjoy. By quoting the stanzas and describing these scenes vividly in his review, however, Hone makes the first two cantos of *Don Juan* look more conspicuously problematic and radical at the same time. In this way, Hone accomplishes his primary aims in publishing this pamphlet—attacking Murray, whom he sarcastically calls “the great moralist” (*Unmasked* 32), and drawing the attention from the Society for Suppression of Vice to the immoral and blasphemous, and therefore seditious, content of *Don Juan*.¹⁰⁷

To emphasize his argument once more before closing the pamphlet, Hone discusses at some length two particular stanzas from the poem. Under the title of

¹⁰⁷ Through the publication of this pamphlet, Hone sought the persecution of “Mr. Murray, publisher to the Admiralty, and the Board of Longitude, and of the *Quarterly Review*, and the Government Navy List” (*Unmasked* 35).

“Parody on the Ten Commandments,” Hone quotes stanzas 205 and 206 of the first canto of *Don Juan*. In these stanzas, as Hone claims, Byron parodies the Ten Commandments by using the phrase “Thou shalt not.” For example,

Thou shalt not set up Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey;

Because the first is crazed beyond all hope,

The second drunk, the third so quaint and mouthy. (1.205)

These two stanzas deserved greater attention from conservative Tory readers than they received, not only because of the parody of the Ten Commandments but also because of the attack on the Lake poets who were still alive. In addition, the so-called “Epic Renegade” trio, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, are the major targets of Byron’s attack in the then unpublished dedication, which is succinctly summarized in the above-quoted lines (“Dedication” to *Don Juan* stanza 1, line 5).¹⁰⁸ Hone understood that Byron’s selection of the three Lake poets for the attack highlights the author’s political position in favor of unceasing radicalism, as contrasted to the turncoat politics that these old-generation romanticists came to represent in their later lives.

Unlike *Don Juan, Canto the Third*, which was a pure parody of Byron’s original poem, then, Hone’s *‘Don John,’ or Don Juan Unmasked* is very much like a literary review in that it quotes a number of stanzas and comments on them in some detail. While, strictly speaking, this booklet does not contain anything that could seriously be considered piratical or illegal, it changed how people responded to Byron’s poem, especially through its suggestion of Byron’s continued radicalism. Indeed, we can even

¹⁰⁸ Hone incorrectly writes that the poem had been dedicated to Lord Castlereagh (*Unmasked* 40).

suppose that it was not '*Don John*,' or *Don Juan Unmasked* but *Don Juan, Canto the Third* that so afflicted Murray that he consulted Turner in order to take legal action against Hone.

Though it might be possible to argue that two separate works, such as Byron's *Don Juan* and Hone's *Don Juan, Canto the Third*, do not affect the meaning of the other, this can hardly be true when an author's writing and even a reader's reading of a literary work are so clearly influenced by something other than the text itself. Indeed, considering not only the intrinsic but also the extrinsic circumstances in the creation and the reading of a literary text can help us achieve hermeneutical variety. Regarding the influence of Hone's publications on the reception of the early cantos of *Don Juan*, we must seriously take this hermeneutical variety into account because, as Grimes insists,

[T]here is more to Hone's use of *Don Juan* than simply an opportunity to express his sour grapes complaints about Murray's financial success and "fashionability." More important from a literary point of view is that Hone recognized very quickly and then exploited the revolutionary potential of Byron's comic, Shandyan narrator. (197)

Without either the author's or the publisher's explicit consent, *Don Juan*, from its early reception, became associated with radical journalists like Leigh Hunt and William Hone, and the overall meaning of the poem was interpreted as being more radical than it really is. Grimes also argues that it was because of Hone's parody that "*Don Juan* became in 1819 a field of cultural struggle wherein the Radical press—armed with its devastating weaponry of parodic wit—could, at least for a moment, symbolically seize control of the

elite and exclusive literature of the day” (200-01). By using *Don Juan* and Byron’s fame as vehicles to propagandize his revolutionary thought and radical journalism, Hone was able to alter the original meaning of the first two cantos of *Don Juan* and strengthen the poem’s revolutionary potential for those awaiting the later cantos.

CHAPTER IV

“THROW AWAY THE SCABBARD”: *DON JUAN*, A RADICAL TEXT

Awake (not Greece—she is awake!)

Awake, my Spirit! Think through whom

Thy life-blood tracks its parent lake

And then strike home!

.....

Seek out—less often sought then found—

A Soldier’s Grave, for thee the best;

Then look around, and choose thy Ground,

And take thy Rest!

(*Missolonghi*, January 22, 1824 / Byron’s last entry in his journal)

(*BLJ* 11: 11-12).¹⁰⁹

Sometime around the middle of 1822, Byron’s political stance, I argue, gradually began to develop into a more radical activism that he had refused for a long time.

Though Byron tried not to reveal his radical politics in the early cantos of *Don Juan*, his tendency towards radical activism is more directly manifested from the sixth canto on.

On August 8, 1822, Byron wrote a letter to Thomas Moore, in which he makes a

¹⁰⁹ Byron, “On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year.” This poem is inserted in Marchand’s *BLJ* vol. 11 as a sort of opening poem of the letters and journals written in 1823-24.

pronouncement that is crucial to understanding the shift in both his literary and political attitudes that he would keep for the rest of his life. In this letter Byron writes,

I have written three more cantos of *Don Juan*, and am hovering on the brink of another (the ninth). The reason I want the stanzas again which I sent you is, that as these cantos contain a full detail (like the storm in Canto Second) of the siege and assault of Ismael, with much of sarcasm on those butchers in large business, your mercenary soldiery, it is a good opportunity of gracing the poem with * * *. With these things and these fellows, it is necessary, in the present clash of philosophy and tyranny, to throw away the scabbard. I know it is against fearful odds; but the battle must be fought; and it will be eventually for the good of mankind, whatever it may be for the individual who risks himself. (*BLJ* 9: 191)

Byron expresses his firm political resolution in this letter. Moreover, the overall mood of the letter is quite different from that in the first five cantos of *Don Juan*, the immorality of which very often provoke shame rather than political activism. However, Byron's major interest from this time on and his attitude towards his own works seem to be more politically charged in much more direct ways than were evident in his previous works. When Byron wrote this letter, he had just experienced two very important events in his life that were crucial to his political shift: the death of his dear friend, Percy Bysshe Shelley and the resumption of writing *Don Juan*.

4.1. The Radical Influence of Percy Bysshe Shelley on the Writing of *Don Juan*

On July 8, 1822, exactly a month before Byron wrote this letter, Percy Shelley, Captain Edward Williams, and a boat boy “were lost . . . in their passage from Leghorn to Spezia in their own open boat [named *Don Juan*]” (*BLJ* 9: 189). A little more than a week later, on July 17, “Shelley’s body [was] found and identified (though with difficulty) . . . chiefly by a book in his Jacket pocket,” John Keats’s *Lamia* volume (*BLJ* 9: 185).¹¹⁰ Byron had shared radical political sympathies as well as friendship with Shelley while they were together away from their own homeland, and Byron’s affection towards Shelley was so great that he even once wanted to duel in Shelley’s place at Pisa in the summer of 1816. When John Polidori, Byron’s physician, challenged Shelley to a duel, Byron warned him: “Recollect, that though Shelley has some scruples about dueling, I have none; and shall be, at all times, ready to take his place” (qtd. in *Biography* 2: 626). Their friendship had lasted only for six years, from May 27, 1816, until Shelley’s death, but Shelley had become very close to Byron, especially when the latter was feeling alienated from his own country and from old friends.¹¹¹ Shelley’s influence on Byron’s political as well as literary thought, therefore, is hugely significant in Byron’s development as a political poet. Even several months after his death, Byron praised Shelley’s character to the Countess of Blessington:

You should have known Shelley to feel how much I must regret him. He was the most gentle, most amiable, and *least* worldly-minded person I

¹¹⁰ For more on Shelley’s death, see Richard Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit* (727-30).

¹¹¹ Especially about the relationship between the two poets, Byron and Shelley, see Ian Gilmour, *The Making of the Poets: Byron & Shelley in Their Time*.

ever met; full of delicacy, disinterested beyond all other men, and possessing a degree of genius, joined to a simplicity, as rare as it is admirable. He had formed to himself *a beau ideal* of all that is fine, high minded, and noble, and he acted up to the ideal even to the very letter. He had a most brilliant imagination, but a total want of worldly wisdom.

(qtd. in Cameron 87)

Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine the lingering sense of loss that Byron was experiencing when he wrote his letter to Moore less than a month since he knew of Shelley's death. Showing the depth of his loss, Byron opens this letter telling Moore of Shelley's death before moving on to his political concerns, which is suggestive of the connection between Shelley's death and Byron's shift in political activism.

Byron's resumption in writing *Don Juan* after a long hiatus of one and a half years was another key event in Byron's political transformation during this period. According to the letter to Moore, Byron had already resumed writing *Don Juan* even before he obtained permission from Countess Guiccioli to continue the poem. In a letter dated July 24, 1822, Byron mentions having her permission for the first time, but in the same letter he also states, "I have nearly completed three more Cantos of D[on] Juan—which will perhaps be ready by Novr. or sooner" (*BLJ* 9: 187). In the letter to Moore written about two weeks later on August 8, Byron informs him, "I have written three more cantos of Don Juan, and hovering on the brink of another (the ninth)" (*BLJ* 9: 191). From these letters, we can deduce that Byron wrote at least one of the three cantos from the sixth to the eighth, and possibly all three of them, when he was actively associated

with Shelley or in times of bitter grief from the loss of him.¹¹² In addition to this, he wrote *Don Juan* much faster than he had originally expected, most likely because he must have sought something on which to concentrate in order to overcome his sorrow from Shelley's death, or because he might have wanted to remember Shelley better by making *Don Juan* more radical, and therefore more like Shelley's works. We cannot ignore the very real possibility that Byron was thinking about Shelley while he was writing these cantos. In other words, Byron could not be entirely free from Shelley and his philosophical and political thoughts expressed in such works as *Queen Mab* (1813), *Mask of Anarchy* (1819), "Peter Bell the Third" (written in 1819), *A Philosophical View of Reform* (written between 1819 and 1820 and first published in 1920), *A Defence of Poetry* (written in 1821 and first published in 1840), and others, nor did he seem to want to be.

Shelley wrote most of his politically and philosophically significant works, such as the ones listed above, between 1819 and 1821, after leaving England in March 1818. Like Byron, Shelley must have felt more political and artistic freedom away from home where numerous oppressive apparatuses had undoubtedly checked his freedom of thought. Although not all of those works were published while he was alive, by the time he had met Byron in Pisa, it is certain that Shelley had already formed his thoughts about politics, reform, and poetry in more or less systematical ways through his poems and

¹¹² Blann presumes that Byron might have begun the sixth canto in April 1822. (114). And following McGann's supposition in *CPW*, Vol. 5, Michael Foot also writes, "[t]he latest, most scholarly supposition about the time when he returned to *Don Juan* puts the date at January 1822, a few weeks only after he made the much-feared journey from Ravenna to Pisa" (325).

prose works over a long period of time.¹¹³ Hoagwood makes the following point about the gradual development of Shelley's intellectual system:

Behind the *Philosophical View of Reform* lie seven years of directly political writing, beginning with the *Address to the Irish People*, which Shelley had composed in January of 1812. . . . Here, as a young man of nineteen, Shelley expresses some of the principles from Godwin's *Political Justice*, from which his more mature political philosophy will depart but whose dialectical character nonetheless forms an important starting point for Shelley. (*Skepticism & Ideology* 141)

Hoagwood also considers *A Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote Throughout the Kingdom* (written in 1817) as representing one of the earlier stages in the development of Shelley's ideology (*Skepticism & Ideology* 157-59). After a long period of philosophical and ideological contemplation, Shelley could finally formulate *A Philosophical View of Reform* despite its unfinished condition.

To consider more fully Shelley's possible influence on the political ideas in the new cantos of *Don Juan*, we should first address his two most radical poetical works: *Queen Mab* and *The Mask of Anarchy*. Even though *Queen Mab* was written years earlier in 1813, it began to be especially widely circulated from the early 1820s by radical publishers such as Richard Carlile and William Clark.¹¹⁴ As an important work

¹¹³ Shelley's philosophical and political ideas are best expressed in *A Philosophical View of Reform*.

¹¹⁴ In 1816 the first two sections of *Queen Mab* were published by Percy Shelley in the *Alastor* volume of 1816, under the title, *The Demon of the World* (Thomas Hutchinson, ed., *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 754). For a more detailed account of the vicissitude of *Queen Mab*, see Harry Buxon Forman's *The Vicissitude of Shelley's Queen Mab*. For a more detailed analysis of the poem as a

providing the foundation of Shelley's theory of revolution and many other issues in his early period such as politics, atheism, vegetarianism, free love, the role of necessity and others, "*Queen Mab*, it was said, was the Chartists' Bible, by far the most quoted literary work in the reformist radical press" (*RNRP* 336).¹¹⁵ Furthermore, as St Clair states,

By the 1830s the poem was stereotyped, available at one shilling, soon to be reduced to sixpence, affordable by the very groups from whom the authorities wished to keep it. The book was never again out of print, being reprinted separately in cheap editions right through the nineteenth century. *Queen Mab* was, by far, Shelley's most easily available, most frequently printed, cheapest, and most widely read book. (*RNRP* 320)

It is certain that *Queen Mab* would have been enthusiastically received by the radicals because of its contents which not only reveal the political tyranny in the present and the religious tyranny in the past but also anticipate the ideal of perfectibility on earth in the future.¹¹⁶ In *Queen Mab* Shelley practices what he will later write in *A Defence of Poetry* concerning the role of the poet as a legislator of the present or prophet of the future: "For [a poet] not only beholds intensely the present as it is, and discovers those laws according to which present things ought to be ordered, but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time" (7).

radical text, see David Duff, "Romance and Revolution in *Queen Mab*," in *Romance and Revolution: Shelley and the Politics of Genre* (54-102).

¹¹⁵ For St Clair's source for this statement, see Bouthania Shaaban, "Shelley in the Chartist Press." For more about the illegal reprint of *Queen Mab*, see Walter Edwin Peck, *Shelley: His Life and Work 1817 to 1822*, part. 2 (227-28).

¹¹⁶ In *Queen Mab*, Shelley criticizes God's "tyrannous omnipotence" through the voice of Ahasuerus calling God "my almighty Tyrant" (canto 7, lines 93, 199).

To the Tory government and conservatives *Queen Mab* was therefore a dangerous work, not only because it could instigate a revolution among the oppressed and threaten the status quo, but also because it could plant hope in the oppressed working class. Indeed, the poem's appeal to the oppressed working or lower class readers was so enormous that it was not unusual to find a cheap edition of the poem read even by cottage inhabitants, and *The Morning Chronicle* of January 1823 compares the poem's pernicious influence on the society to that of Paine's *Age of Reason*. Crane Brinton highlights this point:

That Byron and Shelley were meant [as the objects of derision] was clear enough to the good reader, for scandal had long been rife on the meeting of the two poets in Switzerland. The *Quarterly* in its review of *Prometheus Unbound* finds that Shelley is a bad poet because he is inspired with a hatred of the Tory Government; and it [*sic*] thinks it strange "that such a volume should find readers, and still more strange that it should meet with admirers." "Hibernicus" writes to the *Morning Chronicle* that *Queen Mab* was published in a pocket edition for the use of "Radical mechanics"; and Cuthbert Southey found "cheap editions of *Don Juan* and *Queen Mab* lying in the cottages of his rural flock." (187)

In this way, Byron's name and his *Don Juan* had been linked for a long time with Shelley, "[whose] name has indeed continued on the banners of social revolt," and his *Queen Mab* (Brinton 187).¹¹⁷

In *Queen Mab*, the Fairy Mab interprets Ianthe's dreams that show the visions of the past, the present, and the future. In canto three in particular, Shelley attacks, through the voice of the Fairy Mab, the King and monarchy whose

Power, like a desolating pestilence
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men, and, of the human frame,
A mechanized automaton. (3.176-80)¹¹⁸

The King is portrayed as being "Fatten[ed] on its corruption!" (3.107), and Shelley is undoubtedly criticizing the current king, George III, who was notorious for his luxurious life and corruption. Shelley further criticizes the tyrant:

Whence, think'st thou, kings and parasites arose?
Whence that unnatural line of drones, who heap
Toil and unvanquishable penury
On those who build their palaces, and bring
Their daily bread? –From vice, black loathsome vice;

¹¹⁷ St Clair also treats the publication history and the falling prices of these poems in detail in "Preparatory Schools for the Brothel and the Gallows," in *RNRP*, especially 317ff.

¹¹⁸ All quotations of Shelley's poetry are taken from Thomas Hutchinson's edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1912).

From rapine, madness, treachery, and wrong;
 From all that 'genders misery, and makes
 Of earth this thorny wilderness; from lust,
 Revenge, and murder. . . . And when Reason's voice,
 Loud as the voice of Nature, shall have waked
 The nations; and mankind perceive that vice
 Is discord, war, and misery; that virtue
 Is peace, and happiness and harmony;
 When man's maturer nature shall disdain
 The playthings of its childhood; --kingly glare
 Will lose its power to dazzle; its authority
 Will silently pass by; the gorgeous throne
 Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall,
 Fast falling to decay; whilst falsehood's trade
 Shall be as hateful and unprofitable
 As that of truth is now. (3.118-38)

Here, Shelley describes the corrupt society where vice of all kinds exists. Kings are compared to parasites, and they are the main reasons for the "thorny wilderness" in the present society. To Shelley it is "Reason" alone that can wake the nations to put an end to the unnatural present and eventually accomplish peace, happiness, and harmony for the future. To him, reason is something that can be gained from atheism as opposed to the superstition that destroys all virtue and "erects itself into a tyranny over the

understandings of men (Hutchinson 805).”¹¹⁹ What he wants through this poem is to enlighten humankind, which is currently enslaved, by revealing their oppressed condition in their political and religious lives. Although Shelley’s goal in the poem is to arouse the necessary reason in his readers, his descriptions of and attacks on the tyrannical authorities in Britain, such powers as “Kings, priests, and statesmen,” are so acute and sharp that the poem caught the government’s attention when it was widely circulated at a cheap price (4.104). Indeed, William Clark was imprisoned for selling and distributing this radical poem in 1822, and Edward Moxon was convicted of blasphemous libel after publishing *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1839, edited by Mary Shelley).

Furthermore, Byron’s *Don Juan* was sometimes categorized alongside *Queen Mab* as a radical publication in quite a few radical publishers’ advertisements for their publications. For example, in late 1822, William Dugdale’s advertisement which was “printed on [the] covers of Byron’s *The Prisoner of Chillon*” showed the two works together, “alongside expensive pornography” (RNRP 326). Through the work of such radical publishers and piratical reprints, Shelley’s image had long been fixed as a radical

¹¹⁹ Shelley offers this definition of reason in one of the notes to *Queen Mab*, quoting Francis Bacon’s *Moral Essays*. In the notes published with the text (note on “*There is no God*” in canto 7), Shelley also advocates atheism because of the following reason: “Lord Bacon says that atheism leaves to man reason, philosophy, natural piety, laws, reputation, and everything that can serve to conduct him to virtue; but superstition destroys all these, and erects itself into a tyranny over the understandings of men: hence atheism never disturbs the government, but renders man more clear-sighted, since he sees nothing beyond the boundaries of the present life.—Bacon’s *Moral Essays*” (Hutchinson 805).

writer, and Byron's association with Shelley inevitably gave a similar image to Byron and his works.¹²⁰

Beginning with the eighth canto of *Don Juan*, Byron launches his attack against tyranny and oppression in a very distinctive way, and the attack reaches its height in the ninth canto. At the end of the eighth canto, Byron clarifies his manifest political position:

For I will teach, if possible, the stones
To rise against earth's tyrants. Never let it
Be said that we will truckle unto thrones;--
But ye—our children's children! think how we
Show'd *what things were* before the world was free!

(*Don Juan* 8.135)

This stanza is arguably one of the most powerful expressions of Byron's political passion and defiance against all forms of tyranny on Earth. At the same time, this passage also reminds us of what Leigh Hunt describes as “the rise and growth of the Public Enlightenment” in the preface to Shelley's *The Mask of Anarchy*, which was finally published in 1832 (*Mask of Anarchy* ix). Shelley cries out in the poem,

Rise, like lions after slumber,

¹²⁰ As David Duff points out, Shelley “describe[d] [*Queen Mab*] on one occasion as ‘a sincere overflowing of the heart & mind’, and on another as ‘villainous trash’” to his publisher Ollier (111). Even though Shelley also told Ollier in the same letter that this work is “better fitted to injure than to serve the cause which it advocates,” *Queen Mab* best reveals the early ideological ground for his political thought (qtd. in Peck 228). Though his radical position in *Queen Mab* had been recognized among the radical publishers regardless of Shelley's current philosophical view of reform, it was not as well-known to the public due to the procrastinated publication of his later works.

In unvanquishable number,
 Shake your chains to earth like dew,
 Which in sleep had fall'n on you. (*Mask of Anarchy*, stanza 36)

This is what “Hope” is trying to accomplish through this poem, and we can certainly feel that Shelley’s spirit here is echoed in Byron’s stanza quoted above (*Don Juan* 8.135). It is not a simple coincidence that we find such a similar sentiment in these two poets’ very different poems. In many respects, Shelley and Byron began to share this radical sentiment during their close association in Pisa where they formed so-called the Pisan Circle.¹²¹ Likewise, in his later cantos, Byron tries to show what the world is like in his generation, anticipates freedom for the next generation, and wants the similar public enlightenment as Shelley does in *The Mask of Anarchy* in which he condemns Lord Castlereagh (Foreign Secretary), Lord Sidmouth (Lord Chancellor), and Lord Eldon (Home Secretary) for the deaths and the injuries in the Peterloo Massacre (1819). Here, Byron expresses that he does not want to remain an observer of the tyrannical oppression by merely taking part in the public discourse; instead, he now eagerly wants to be a leader of the revolution by being in the forefront of the war against oppression. Byron’s artistic frustration from Brougham’s review and his political disappointment from the unsuccessful parliamentary speeches are not at all evident here. Instead, we can feel his confidence and strong will in the political revolution in the later cantos of *Don Juan*.

¹²¹ For a more detailed account of the Pisan Circle, see Clarence Lee Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and Their Pisan Circle*.

Unlike the somewhat philosophical, reasonable, and intellectual tone in *Queen Mab*, suggested also with its subtitle, “A Philosophical Poem, with Notes,” Shelley takes a much more direct tone in attacking such tyrants as God, king, and law in *The Mask of Anarchy*, in part, because the latter poem was written, among other reasons, as a response to the brutal violence exhibited to the public in the Peterloo Massacre. Therefore, strictly speaking, the later cantos of *Don Juan* are more similar to *The Mask of Anarchy* than to *Queen Mab* when considering each poem’s ways of warring against tyranny. In other words, *The Mask of Anarchy* and *Don Juan* both openly instigate their readers to rise against tyranny. But instead of making the attacks on the current political, societal, and religious problems the direct focus in the poem, Byron incorporates his attacks into the protagonist’s travel narrative in *Don Juan*. That said, even though those attacks are not themselves the major constituents of the poem’s narrative, the level of the attacks is not lower than that in Shelley’s writings.

In spite of the similarities mentioned above, there are yet some noteworthy differences in the perspectives towards socio-political reform and revolution between Byron’s ideas expressed in the later cantos of *Don Juan* and Shelley’s in his writings. For instance, first of all, Shelley evidently did not want to have a radical or violent revolution in politics and society, even though he admits that “[t]he last resort of resistance is undoubtedly insurrection” (*Philosophical View* 88). Even in his early years of political interests, Shelley hoped to accomplish gradual change, beginning with the elite class, or an upper-middle class literati group, through knowledge and “the energies of intellectual power” (*Philosophical View* 5). William G. Rowland asserts Shelley’s

focus on the literary elite by pointing out that, “[d]espite its radicalism, the 1813 edition of *Queen Mab* was intended for a polite audience” and noting what Shelley wrote to a friend: ““Like all egoists, I shall console myself with what I may call, if I please, the suffrages of the chosen few”” (90). As a matter of fact, the first edition of *Queen Mab* did not initially sell particularly well. Though 250 copies of it were published in 1813, there were “180 copies remain[ing]” when “Carlile [bought] remaining stock from a member of the trade” after Shelley’s death in 1822 (*RNRP* 649).

As Shelley reiterated in *A Philosophical View of Reform*, he believed that “knowledge [is] the surest pledge of victory” (20), so he wanted a “moderate reform” from above, not a radical insurrection from below. He writes about the process of such a gradual reform:

Upon the issue of this question depends the species of reform which a philosophical mind should regard with approbation. If Reform shall be begun by this existing government, let us be contented with a limited beginning, with any whatsoever opening; let the rotten boroughs be disfranchised and their rights transferred to the unenfranchised cities and districts of the nation; it is no matter how slow, gradual and cautious be the change; we shall demand more and more with firmness and moderation, never anticipating but never deferring the moment of successful opposition, so that the people may become habituated to exercising the functions of sovereignty, in proportion as they acquire the possession of it. If this reform could begin from within the House of

Parliament, as constituted at present, it appears to me that what is called moderate reform, that is a suffrage whose qualification should be the possession of a certain small property, and triennial parliaments, would be a system in which for the sake of obtaining without bloodshed or confusion ulterior improvements of a more important character, all reformers ought to acquiesce. (*Philosophical View* 76-78)

It is true that Byron's ideas about the socio-political reform expressed in the later cantos of *Don Juan* (beginning with the sixth) are quite different from Shelley's philosophical and ideological approaches to reform as quoted here, but it is also highly probable that Shelley talked about this view with Byron when they were so closely associated with each other in Italy. During the time of this association, what is more, Shelley was writing *A Philosophical View of Reform* and living very close to Byron.

However, when it comes to the contents in *A Philosophical View of Reform*, it seems that Byron could not have been completely satisfied with Shelley's approach to socio-political reform. Shelley was, in many respects, much too alienated from reality or too idealistic in that he calls for a change in the socially-privileged, elite class who will hardly abandon their exclusive rights over their inferiors. For these reasons, then, Byron might have described Shelley to the Countess of Blessington, as "[having] a most brilliant imagination, but a want of worldly wisdom" (Blessington 76).

Furthermore, Shelley's arguments, as a matter of fact, reveal obvious limitations to restricting suffrage only to those who have "a certain small property" (*Philosophical View* 76). This can surely exclude most lower-class people and women from exercising

their political rights. Byron was well aware of the truth that “revolutions are not to be made with rose-water” and “some blood may & must be shed on such occasions,” as he says to Hobhouse in a letter of March 29, 1820 (*BLJ* 7: 63). In other words, the time was slowly ripening for Byron’s real participation in the war against tyranny, as “the present crash of philosophy and tyranny” revealed to him that it was not possible to beat tyranny with philosophy alone (*BLJ* 9: 191).

Essentially announcing his political intentions, Byron said in a letter to Moore that he was ready to take out his sword and “throw away the scabbard” forever. With this image of sword and scabbard, Byron echoed Shelley’s conception of poetry as “a sword of lightning, ever unsheathed, which consumes the scabbard that would contain it” (*Defence of Poetry* 24). In other words, Byron had come to share Shelley’s conviction that no scabbard, or oppression, can hold the sword, the poetry, of the poets, “the unacknowledged legislators of the world” (*Philosophical View* 30). By the time Byron wrote the eighth canto of *Don Juan* in 1822, he felt himself ready to fight a war. Hence, in the eighth canto, Byron writes,

All was prepared—the fire, the sword, the men
 To wield them in their terrible array.
 The army, like a lion from his den,
 March’d forth with nerve and sinews bent to slay,—
 A human Hydra, issuing from its fen
 To breathe destruction on its winding way,
 Whose heads were heroes, which, cut off in vain,

Immediately in others grew again. (8.2)

Byron knows the human Hydra will endlessly regenerate monsters of destruction over and again, so he hopes for a real hero as he opens the poem in the first canto.¹²² From this time on, Byron seems determined to take action instead of remaining a passive observer of tyranny, not only in England but also in other countries, such as Greece. Although Byron remained a “gentleman reformer” and maintained his separation from the radicals for a long time before becoming actively involved in the war for Greek independence, what he wrote in *Don Juan*, beginning especially in the sixth canto, increasingly showed his willingness to challenge more directly the status quo in England (Kelsall 174).¹²³ To a certain degree, Byron was preparing to put Shelley’s method of reform into practice, a revolution that begins with the upper-class of society. Byron’s participation, however, was not limited to promoting philosophical reason alone, but he insisted that reason had to be followed by practical action.

Don Juan must not be considered merely “words without effect,” which is how Malcolm Kelsall described Byron’s Luddite oration (180). *Don Juan* became an essential part of the radical canon from the 1820s onwards. St Clair lists some of the texts in this canon in *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, which includes

¹²² Byron highlights the need of a real hero from the outset of the first canto of *Don Juan*:

I WANT a hero: an uncommon want,
 When every year and month sends forth a new one,
 Till, after cloying the gazettes with cant,
 The age discovers he is not the true one: (1. 1)

¹²³ In a letter to Hobhouse in Oct. 1821, Byron states, “Still I can’t approve of the ways of the radicals—they seem such very low imitations of the Jacobins.—I do not allude to you and Burdett—but to the Major and to Hunt of Bristol & little Waddington &c. c.” (*BLJ* 8: 240).

Paine's *Rights of Man*, Shelley's *Queen Mab*, Godwin's *Political Justice* and the like (337). By the time Byron returned to *Don Juan* in July 1822, he had already become a radical poet, far different from the one who wrote "Go Little Book . . . Go Thy Ways" in the first canto of *Don Juan*. Byron was no longer simply willing to throw *Don Juan* into the market and audience's hands for the text and its meaning to go where it might. Instead, he now endeavored to deliver his political stance explicitly through his writings from this time, and we can easily see this change beginning in the sixth canto.

Of course Byron had always revealed what he had in his mind in his writings. "Writing and composition," as he told John Hunt later in 1823, "are habits of [his] mind" (*BLJ* 10: 123). But the content of his writings from this time were no longer a simple outburst of his feelings. He alluded to this difference in the fourteenth canto of *Don Juan*: "In youth I wrote because my mind was full / And *now* because I feel it growing dull" (14.10). In opposition to what Byron said regarding the motivation and purpose of his writing, what he wrote during this time was rather like political propaganda in the fight for freedom or an outcry of a radical political leader. Thus, *Don Juan* was no longer a poem dealing only with immoral love affairs. While the first five cantos had been radicalized by external influences, as shown in the previous chapter, from the sixth canto, *Don Juan* was itself politically charged. Therefore, Byron and *Don Juan* became more popular among the politically- and socially-oppressed working-class readers who became a major purchasing group of Byron's works from the 1820s when the prices of books was lowered in general.

4.2. Byron's Radical Use of Satire

Not a few of Byron's works are treated as satires, and he once boldly announced in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; A Satire* that he would make satire his main genre of writing: "Prepare for rhyme—I'll publish, right or wrong: / Fools are my theme, let satire be my song"(stanza 1).¹²⁴ This is the most conspicuous of Byron's early experiments in satire, and it was first published anonymously in March 1809 in the early stage of Byron's literary career. He wrote the satire in response to Henry P. Brougham's scathing, unsigned review of *Hours of Idleness* (1807), Byron's first published poem, in the *Edinburgh Review*.¹²⁵ At first Byron was greatly shocked by this review and even confessed his upset to Hobhouse in a letter dated February 27, 1808:

As an author, I am cut to atoms by the E[dinburgh] Review, it is just out, and has completely demolished my little fabric of fame, this is rather scurvy treatment from a Whig Review, but politics and poetry are different things, & I am no adept in either, I therefore submit in Silence.

(BLJ 1: 158-59)

About a month after this letter, however, Byron stated to the Rev. John Becher that "these 'paper bullets of the brain' have only taught me to stand fire; and I have been lucky enough upon the whole, my repose and appetite are not discomposed" (BLJ 1: 162). No longer content to remain silent, Byron launched an attack in *EBSR* which

¹²⁴ Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; A Satire* (London: James Cawthorn, 1809). From here this is abbreviated as *EBSR* and is cited by stanza number.

¹²⁵ The review of *Hours of Idleness* was published in *Edinburgh Review* 11 (Jan. 1808): 285-89. By this review Henry Brougham provoked Byron to write *EBSR*. Byron did not reveal his authorship on the title page until the second edition of *EBSR*.

originated from the anger and hurt that he had received from Brougham's somewhat exaggerated disparagement of Byron's poetic ability, which was still inchoate. As a satire on contemporary poetry and literary criticism, *EBSR* particularly aimed at attacking the famous literary figures of the time, including Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Jeffrey, and many others. This sort of harsh Juvenalian satire, however, gradually disappeared from Byron's early poetry and then increasingly reappeared from the works written in and after 1822, including *Don Juan* and *Vision of Judgment*.

Gary Dyer lists seven of Byron's works in his list of "A Select Bibliography of British Satirical Verse, 1789-1832": *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, *The Curse of Minerva* (1812), *Waltz* (1813), *Beppo*, *A Venetian Story* (1818), *Don Juan* (all cantos, 1819-1823), *The Vision of Judgment* (1822), and *The Age of Bronze* (1823). According to the dates of Dyer's selections, Byron seemed to have been indifferent to writing satirical poems from 1813 to 1818, but he increasingly turned to the form from the end of the 1810s. The two periods when Byron was more interested in using satire—before 1813 and after 1818—are strikingly parallel to the times when Byron was more straightforward and active in his involvement in current politics—the former with the time Byron had been an ambitious member of the House of Lords and made his maiden speeches for liberal causes, and the latter with the time he was actively involved in the Italian *Carbonari* with Countess Giuccioli's father and brother and the struggle for Greek independence to which he eventually devoted everything he had, including his life and money. Thus, Byron's use of the satire form in his poems mirrors his participation in politics. Particularly in 1822 and 1823, at the time Byron began writing the sixth canto

of *Don Juan*, which I have emphasized as the time of Byron's developing radical activism, we can see that Byron was writing many of his major poems in satires. Through his poems, Byron manifested a political determination that was much more radical than it was in the past. But the question of what motivated these developments in his politics and poetry still need to be addressed.

As Frederick Beaty remarks, "[e]xactly what caused Byron to become a satirist is uncertain" (6). Furthermore, analyzing the growth of Byron's satire identity is not a simple matter because a number of his literary, political, and social experiences surely contributed much to its formation over a long period of time. But his return to this poetic form, particularly from the late 1810s and reaching its culmination during the composition of *Don Juan*, suggests that this period deserves much more attention in the investigation of Byron's use of the satirical form in his poems.

Before Byron began writing the satiric *Don Juan* in 1818, he had spent much time with Shelley who was also good at writing satiric works such as *Mask of Anarchy*, *Queen Mab* and others. Byron and Shelley had met in Geneva in May 1816, and they remained very close until the end of August 1816. During this time, Shelley was living with his lover, Mary Godwin, and her stepsister, Claire Clairmont, who gave birth to Byron's daughter, Allegra, in the next year. They lived so close to one other that "[i]t was only an eight- or ten-minute walk down the slope through the vineyard to Shelley's house" (*Biography* 2: 625). Marchand even describes the two poets' friendship as "one of the most famous friendships [*sic*] in literary history" (*Biography* 2: 621). They were not merely close to each other as friends, but they also shared many political and

intellectual views. When they met again at Pisa in late 1821, they formed the Pisan Circle, which was centered on Byron.¹²⁶ Byron's radical potential began to blossom into his later radical activism through his association with Shelley. Thus, Byron's poems and letters written after their reunion in 1821 came to reflect radical characteristics similar to those in Shelley's recent works such as *The Mask of Anarchy*, "Peter Bell the Third," *A Philosophical View of Reform*, *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), or *Swellfoot the Tyrant* (1820). Byron's political attacks on oppression, tyranny, and English cant became more audacious and straightforward, suggesting that he had come to be better acquainted with the socio-political corruption in England, very likely through his many conversations with Shelley.

While Byron intended *Don Juan* as a whole to be satirical, his intention in the early cantos, the first to the fifth, as he described it, was "To be a little quietly facetious about everything" (qtd. in Trueblood 79). The early cantos certainly have comic elements along with serious ones: Don Alfonso's search in the first canto, for instance, has been read as humorous by some readers despite its thrilling tension. Leigh Hunt pointed out this humor in his review of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*:

The delicious and deep descriptions of love, and youth, and hope, came upon us like the "young beams" of the sun breaking through the morning dew, and the terrific pictures of the misery man and his most appalling sensations, like awful flashes of lightening;—but when the author

¹²⁶ About the circle and the role of these two poets in it, see Lee Clarence Cline, *Byron, Shelley and Their Pisan Circle*. Other members of the circle include Mary Shelley, Edward John Trelawny, Thomas Medwin, and Edward Williams.

reverses this change, he trifles too much with our feelings, and occasionally goes on, turning to ridicule or hopelessness all the fine ideas he has excited, with a recklessness that becomes extremely unpleasant and mortifying.¹²⁷

Leigh Hunt is one of the earliest reviewers to point out acutely what he calls the “heterogeneous mixture” of styles in *Don Juan*, which Stabler calls “scorching and drenching” and Trueblood calls “seriocomic satire” (Stabler 18; Trueblood 99). In a sense, this mixture of styles is really against the classical ideal of decorum, but Byron has the power of captivating readers’ minds and manipulating them to accept his own point of view. In the first canto, he draws his readers into a deeply secluded place of lovemaking, and then changes the mood to the boisterous searching and fleeing scene, and sometimes puts the protagonist into the dangerous ocean among men who are sucking blood and chewing the body parts of another crew. Stabler underlines the significance of this combination of styles and argues that “Nineteenth-century readers feared that Byron’s juxtaposition of serious and comic elements would automatically undermine all moral seriousness including the integrity of personal and social relationships” (19-20). However, while this kind of mixture of comic and serious elements is a strength of the first two cantos, it is not particularly amusing or tragic in the next cantos. Croker shares his similar response to the third and the fourth cantos in a letter to Murray:

¹²⁷ Leigh Hunt, review of *Don Juan* in *The Examiner* (Oct. 1819) 700.

I dare swear, if the truth were known, that his digressions and repetitions generate one another, and that the happy jingle of some of his comical rhymes has led him on to episodes of which he never originally thought: and thus it is that, with the most extraordinary merit, *merit of all kinds*, these two cantos [the 3rd and 4th] have been to *me*, in several points, tedious and even obscure. (Smiles 1: 414)

Croker found the third canto of *Don Juan* quite tedious, and he was not alone. Responses like this might have influenced Byron to write the new cantos in a different style and purpose. Thus, with the third set of cantos (from the sixth to the eighth), Byron moves from this kind of mixture of serious and comic elements (which he learned from Alexander Pope) to a more serious satire (*BLJ* 8:94).¹²⁸

In a letter to Murray dated December 25, 1822, Byron clarifies his new purpose for writing *Don Juan*: “D[on] Juan will be known by and bye for what it is intended a *satire* on *abuses* of the present *states* of Society—and not an eulogy of vice” (*BLJ* 10: 68). To a certain degree, Byron admits the underlying message of the early cantos in this statement and at the same time suggests to Murray an altered purpose in the cantos of *Don Juan* that will be soon published by John Hunt. Thus, from the sixth canto of *Don Juan*, Byron reveals a clear will to participate in the socio-political realm; his writings from this point on will be fully-charged with attacks against the politics, culture, and literature of Regency England.

¹²⁸ Byron praises the “serious & comic” features of Pope’s “Essay on Man” in a letter to Murray.

Although Byron had not been in England since 1816, he remained well aware of what was happening in Britain through numerous letters, especially from Murray and other close friends. From these letters, we realize that Murray's role in Byron's life was not simply a publisher of his major works. As many of his letters reveal, Murray provided a number of household items at Byron's request, including toothpastes, books, medicine, and many others, and Murray constantly informed Byron of what was happening in British society and politics. Though Byron had announced that he "ha[d] no desire to revisit that country" and declared himself to be "a Citizen of the World" (*BLJ* 9: 125; 78), there were, in effect, at least several different occasions which prompted Byron to consider returning to Britain. When Countess Guiccioli had to choose her husband over her lover (Byron himself) in November 1819 (*BLJ* 6:249), Byron temporarily decided to make his way back to England. And in February 1822, Byron wanted to come to England to fight a duel with Southey and to protect Murray from being prosecuted for publishing *Don Juan*. Furthermore, though Byron referred to Britain in letters to Murray and to Lady Byron as "your country" (*BLJ* 6: 26; 8:89), he also seems to have eagerly wanted to stay in touch with news about his home country through such media as "*Galignani's Messenger*—Byron's principle source of news about British politics while in Italy" (Stabler front matter),¹²⁹ through which he could

¹²⁹ Galignani played an important role in the dissemination of Byron's works. As a publisher who specialized in printing pirated books, especially English books, for foreign countries, he sold many of Byron's "books which cost a third or a fifth less than those on the English market" (Cooper-Richet 25). For example, "Thomas Moore's *Life of Lord Byron* which Galignani sold in one volume for twenty francs or in four on woven paper for thirty-six francs, whereas the English edition in two volumes cost five hundred francs" (25). For more on Galignani, see Diana Cooper-Richet's *Galignani* (1999).

keep up with what his readers wanted him to address in *Don Juan* as an awakened spirit of the time.

In *The Flowering of Byron's Genius*, Trueblood classifies the subjects of satire in *Don Juan* into seven different categories: "Satire of Tyranny and Oppression," "Satire of Militarism," "Satire of Political Opportunism and Reactionary Conservatism," "Satire of Moral Hypocrisy," "Satire of Literary Idiosyncrasy," "Satire Motivated by Personal Grievance," and "Satire of Miscellaneous Hypocrisies and Idiosyncrasies" (126).¹³⁰

Trueblood classifies thirty-seven characters according to these categories, which suggest how wide-ranging the primary objectives of Byron's satiric attention are. Needless to say, if Byron had still been living in England, he would not have been able to even initiate his attack on the government's censorship and suppression. But he was not subject to the British laws, since he was enjoying the freedom of his voluntary exile. Thus, he did not need to worry about suppression of any kind while he was writing the later cantos of *Don Juan*.

¹³⁰ Trueblood also divides Byron's literary career into "three rather clearly defined periods: the early period, from about 1809, when his *EBSR* appeared, to 1812, the year in which the first two cantos of *Childe Harold* were published; the middle period, from 1812 to his final departure from England in 1816; and the final period, from 1816 to the year of his death, 1824" (97-98). But I suggest here that the last period could be further divided into the time before and the time after the composition of the sixth canto of *Don Juan* because of a clear shift in Byron's attitude towards his poetical works from a means of criticizing the immoral society in general and the political conservatives in particular (or personal vituperation) to a tool for arousing social insurrection and attacking the *status quo* or the entire political body with a straightforward voice. For example, *The Vision of Judgment*, published in the first number of the *Liberal* of October 15, 1822, reveals Byron's desire to take part directly in the current politics, which differs from his attitude in his previous publications.

4.3. Byron's Radical Potential

Truly *Don Juan* enters a new phase with the sixth canto in a number of ways. First, as aforementioned, Byron had finally received official permission from Countess Guiccioli to continue the poem. Byron's affection towards Countess Guiccioli was much deeper than that towards other women with whom he had affairs;¹³¹ indeed, Byron once referred to the countess as "the future Lady B[yron]" in a letter to his step-sister, Augusta Leigh, dated October 5, 1821 (*BLJ* 8: 234). Byron's relationship with Countess Guiccioli lasted five years, from April 1819 until his death in April 1824, and he indulged in no additional seductive adventures during this time.¹³² In a number of letters that he sent to Countess Guiccioli, Byron expresses his love for her by opening almost every letter with an appellation of "My Love" or "My dearest." Even when he was in Missolonghi, Greece, he frequently sent letters to her reassuring her of his love and safety. Even though he was sometimes homesick, he had his lover in his mind.

Furthermore, the political and artistic confidence gained from his relationship with the countess continued to develop gradually while he was away from home. The last work Byron published before he began writing *Don Juan* was the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, published April 28, 1818, about two months before he began composing the first canto of *Don Juan*. In the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's*

¹³¹ For more on Byron's women, see John Murray, IV, *Lord Byron and His Detractors*. Cochran also recently published a book on this topic, *Byron and Women [And Men]s*.

¹³² Byron first mentions the countess in a letter dated April 6, 1819, to Hobhouse. Here he writes, "I am dull too for I have fallen in love with a Romagnuola Countess from Ravenna—who is nineteen years old & has a Count of fifty—whom She seems disposed to qualify the first year of marriage being just over." (*BLJ* 6: 107).

Pilgrimage, then, we have a glimpse of Byron's revolutionary potential not extinguished by any political or literary tempest:

Yet, Freedom! Yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like the thunder-storm *against* the wind
Thy trumpet voice, though broken now and dying,
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind;
Thy tree hath lost its blossoms, and the rind,
Chopp'd by the axe, looks rough and little worth,
But the sap lasts, –and still the seed we find
Sown deep, even in the bosom of the North;
So shall a better spring less bitter fruit bring forth. (98)

In 1818, Byron was not obviously radical in his political position, but this stanza reveals his unceasing hope for Freedom against all kinds of tyranny in the world. Though the banner of Freedom is torn, it is still flying against the wind; the sap of the tree of Freedom and the trumpet voice fighting for Freedom have not died out for Byron. Soon after writing these lines, Byron would be ready to explode like an unbound Prometheus, as in Shelley's poem, *Prometheus Unbound*, which was published along with "Ode to Liberty" (the last poem in the volume of *Prometheus Unbound and Other Poems*) which used the first two lines of the above-quoted stanza as its epigraph.

Byron's subversive potential against all kinds of tyranny, whether political, religious, literary, and even social, had been the main criticism of *Don Juan*, even before his direct attack on tyranny in the third volume of *Don Juan*. Byron was indeed

considered dangerous because of this potentially subversive power, and his poems were given the same consideration. In addition to the immoral content in the early cantos pointed out by many reviewers, some sensitive conservatives had also already detected Byron's political influence germinating with invisible delicacy among radicals and working class readers. Throughout his political career, Byron had always been on the side of the weak and oppressed, and they received him as their hero—their own Conrad to question the status quo and ignore conventions, as in *The Corsair*. As Dino Franco Felluga points out,

much of the criticism of Byron . . . worried about Byron's subversive potential rather than his bodily deformities or sexual perversities. The fear, in other words, was that Byron could effectuate a real revolution through his unveiling of the performative, ideological nature of social conventions.
(83)

For these reasons, Southey later called Byron part of “the Satanic School” and his poetry “a moral virus” in the Preface of *A Vision of Judgment* (1821) (Southey, *Poetical Works* 206). As Southey argues in the Preface, “[t]his evil is political as well as moral, for indeed moral and political evils are inseparably connected” (206). Therefore, Byron's political influence through his poems, even while he was out of the country, was something to concern the conservative party.

There is a pamphlet which identifies Byron's radical potential soon after the publication of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*. Chew observes that in this pamphlet, Oxonian's *The Radical Triumvirate* (1820), “Byron is similarly grouped with other

radicals” (*BinE* 33).¹³³ This pamphlet has a very long subtitle that clearly reveals its purpose: “*or, Infidel Paine, Lord Byron, and Surgeon Lawrence, Colleaguine with the Patriotic Radicals to Emancipate Mankind from All Laws Human and Divine.*” As the title and subtitle suggests, Oxonian links Byron with such dangerous radicals as Thomas Paine who published the *Rights of Man* and William Lawrence who argued that the soul is only the brain.¹³⁴ Percy Shelley, a radical poet, was also much interested in Lawrence’s theory from the time when he was aspiring to be a surgeon in 1811, as Sharon Ruston mentions (74). According to Oxonian, all three of these men are radicals who endanger the religious and political order of English society. Oxonian argues,

If these precious *morceaus* and these fascinating viands, are generally taken without any antidote to counteract their tendency, what may we expect but a grand and radical revolution in sentiment and habit, and in all your orders of society? The valet will soon shine as much in the philosophy of his master as he has frequently done in his clothes—the very footman will become as eloquent as his master in abuse of religion and its ministers: and Tom Paine’s open and undistinguished

¹³³ Oxonian’s pamphlet is one of the rarest items relevant to the early reception of *Don Juan*. For this pamphlet, see British Library, shelfmark: 8135.ccc.30 (5).

¹³⁴ Oxonian attacks Lawrence by stating, “Mr. Lawrence attempts to clench the nail, by proving that the soul is part of the body, and of course must therefore die with it What therefore do these philosophers attempt, Mr. Bull? Why, to reduce us to the rank of the mere brutes that perish! Is *this* to enlighten and improve us?” (21). See Sharon Ruston’s *Shelley and Vitality* (2005) for more information about the vitality debate between John Abernethy and Lawrence in 1814-19. Ruston succinctly summarizes the vitality debate as follows: “Directly opposing Abernethy’s claim that life has nothing to do with organization, Lawrence argues that ‘life is the result of the organization’” (46). Most importantly, we can see in this debate that the conservative, hierarchical idea of the “chain of being,” on which eighteenth-century society had been grounded, was being challenged in the scientific field even in the 1810s.

blasphemies, [William] Wollaston's Religion of Nature, Carlile's Mock Trial, and his Rampant Republican, Don Juan's bold and merry Profanites [*sic*], Hone's House that Jack Built, or his Man in the Moon, or the Apple Pye, or Lawrence's Surgical Demonstrations that the soul is only the brain; will lie in the summer-house, ready for the gardener to read at leisure, to counteract the lessons of religion which Nature and Nature's God may teach him, and to justify his adroit frauds upon the hot-house, and other immoralities. We may expect, 'ere long, that the noblemen will be forced to exchange places with his servant—that mankind will all have as short a creed as the infidel, and that the terrible notion of a Divine Being governing the world, and hereafter coming to judge us, will be banished by common consent from the earth, and that the Bible will be proscribed as the parent of needless fears and alarms! (7-8)

Oxonian reveals how apprehensive he is about the pervasion of radical sentiments in English society through the circulation of radical writings among the working- and lower-class people. But interestingly, Oxonian opposes scientific knowledge—such as Lawrence's findings about the brain as the final cause of human actions and Isaac Newton's theory of "gravity" as "the cause of all the motion in the world"—because he believed it could all at once collapse the hierarchical social order based on the Christian belief in God's cause and divine order (24-25).¹³⁵

¹³⁵ On the vitality debate between two surgeons, John Abernethy and William Lawrence, see Sharon Ruston's *Shelley and Vitality* (2005), especially chapter 1 (24-73).

This very small pamphlet succinctly shows the cultural conflict between the old and new orders in the nineteenth century, as Hoagwood points out about the pamphlet.¹³⁶ The overall content and purpose of Oxonian's pamphlet is to warn the British people of the rampant radicalism that could overthrow the existing social order and religious identity of Britain as a Christian nation. In many respects, Oxonian's ideas in this pamphlet are to uphold the old order and prevent the collapse of the status quo by radical revolution and democratization of the socio-political power, arguments similar to Edmund Burke's in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). In effect, Oxonian praises Burke in the Dedication of *The Radical Triumvirate* while criticizing Hume, Voltaire, and Locke, and he despises Reason throughout the pamphlet. Oxonian's attack on Byron is likewise grounded in what is seen as his endangerment of the established order: "a Noble Lord has lent his powers of genius, by which he attracted the attention of the nation, to make your sons and daughters amuse themselves in deriding the religion and laws of their forefathers" (3). In this way, even the first volume of Byron's *Don Juan* is treated like other radical publications by Paine, Carlile, and Hone.

Associating Byron with the radical cause and with radical authors and publishers, however, was not an idea unique to *The Radical Triumvirate*. Later in 1823, Benbow listed *Don Juan* along with sixteen other works in his advertisement, "Benbow's Catalogue of Cheap Books," placed at the end of his pirated edition of *Don Juan* (cantos

¹³⁶ Hoagwood, Terence. "Radical Triumvirate." Message to the author. 26 August 2010. Email.

9, 10, and 11).¹³⁷ Surprisingly, the catalogue advertises *Lawrence's Lectures* and *The Rights of Man* on the same page as *Don Juan* (see Figure. 3).

Thus, we can say that grouping Byron with these radical figures was not uncommon, both to conservative writers and to radical publishers. Furthermore, as if

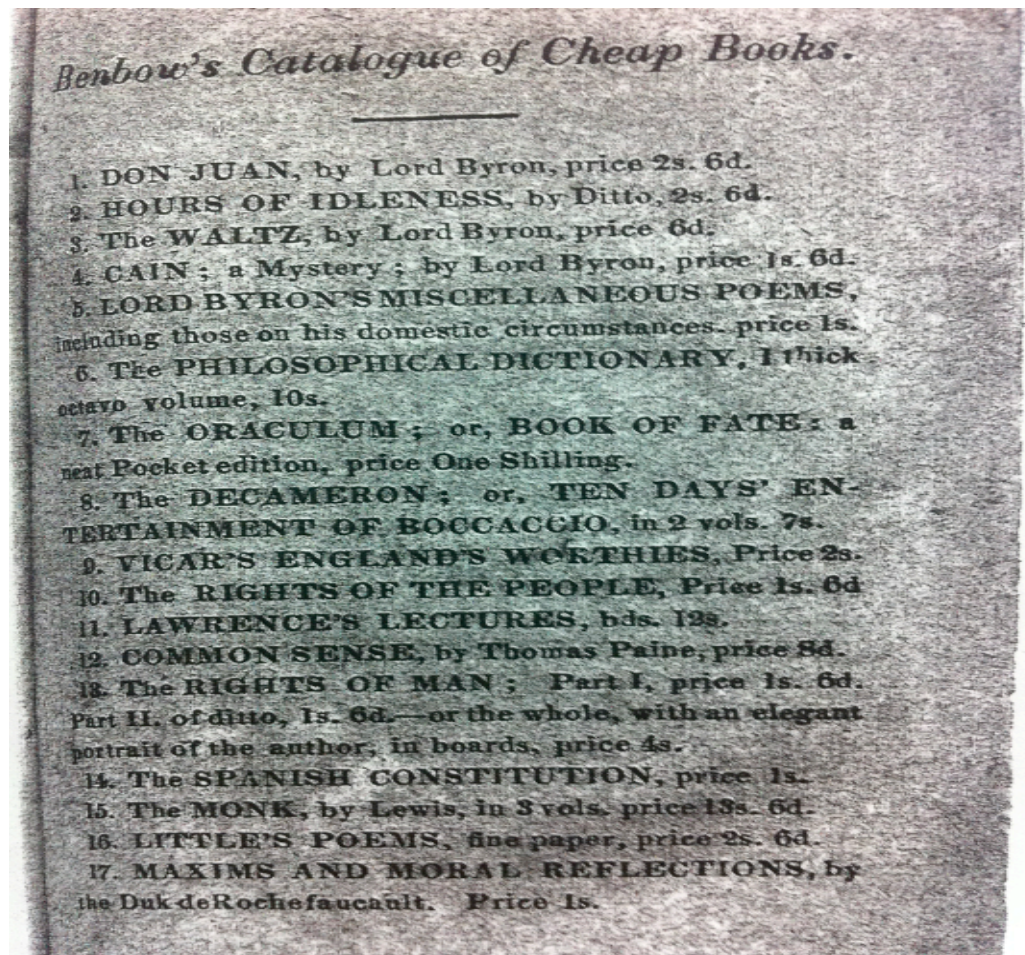


Figure 3. Benbow's Catalogue of Cheap Books (1823).

¹³⁷ This advertisement can be found in a volume in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark, 12 THETA 743. It is inserted between the cantos 11 and 12 of *Don Juan*.

reflecting on the revolutionary potential of *Don Juan* and its author, reformists and Chartists often imitated Byron as the potential leader of the fight for Freedom. For example, as St Clair argues, “[f]ollowing the *Don Juan* realistic-subversive strand we are therefore led to consider the possible influence of Byron on the Reform movement and the Chartists, and we duly find that many of the leaders read the book and even wore open-necked shirts *à la Byron*” (“Impact” 23).

In spite of Byron’s utter detestation of what he called “blackguard” radical reformers, evident even in 1820, his association with the Chartists, the working class, whether voluntary or involuntary, played an important role in the reception of his poem among the working-class populace. The working-class readers thought that Byron had been with them and saw him as their heroic celebrity, not only for his poems which provided them with a literary imagination and enabled them to have a visionary escape to foreign lands, but also for his practical participation in the vindication of their rights, which he showed through his maiden parliamentary speech.

Although we do not have any clear proof of Byron’s presence among the working-class public as a revolutionary leader during his life in London in a practical sense, he seems to have participated in the protection of the framework-knitters, at least through subscription. From February 1812, the framework-knitters urgently formed “a quasi-legal association, the ‘United Committee of Framework-Knitters,’” or simply, “the Nottingham Committee” so as “to promote a Bill giving parliamentary relief to the stockingers” (Thompson 535-36). The Committee drew up a Bill, “For Preventing Frauds and Abuses in the Frame-Work Knitting Manufacture,” and “[s]ubscription-lists

and a petition in favor of the Bill were circulated actively in March 1812” (Thompson 537). E. P. Thompson mentions in passing, with no further comments, the possibility that Byron participated in the subscription: “In June [1812], when the Bill was coming before Parliament, a soldier wrote offering to take a collection in the militia regiment at Great Yarmouth, while the Committee acknowledged ‘My Lord Biron’s handsome subscription’” (537). Thompson does not even provide his source for this record, and Byron’s name in the soldier’s list is not even spelled correctly.

However, Byron himself used this name, “Biron,” in his own writings. For example, in a letter dated January 13, 1818, to Kinnaid, Byron says he will give this name to his daughter from Claire Clairmont: “I shall acknowledge & breed her myself—giving her the name of *Biron* (to distinguish her from little Legitimacy)—and mean to christen her Allegra—which is a Venetian name” (*BLJ* 6: 7). In 1813, Byron began using this spelling as his signature at the end of some of his letters, and he continued to do so sporadically until February 1814, though he quits using this signature in the letters of the following years.¹³⁸ Byron also uses this spelling of his name in the tenth canto of *Don Juan*:

They journey’d on through Poland and through Warsaw,

Famous for mines of salt and yokes of iron:

Through Courland also, which that famous farce saw

Which gave her dukes the graceless name of Biron. (10.57)

¹³⁸ One can find about twenty such letters from 1813 in Marchand’s *BLJ*, vol. 3. In numerous letters, Byron uses several different signatures: for example, B, B., B--, BN, Bn, Byron, BYRON, N B, Noel Byron, +B, sono, *Μπαρῶν*, and so forth. We find two letters written in 1814 with the ending signature “BIRON” in *BLJ*, vol. 3.

Byron used this spelling again in 1822 when he prepared his coat of arms and his motto “Crede Byron” to inscribe on his cavalry helmet that he designed for himself before going on a voyage to Greece. This helmet, which was “carried out by a skillful artificer, Giacomo Aspe, of Genoa” (Elliott 5), also bears “Crede Biron” instead of “Crede Byron,” as both Maud Elliott and C. W. J. Eliot describe (Elliott 5; Eliot 197).¹³⁹

Thus, whether Byron purposely wrote his name incorrectly to avoid having his name in the lists or the soldier made a mistake writing down Byron’s name, the “Biron” in the soldier’s subscription list in 1812 could very well be that of Byron as a passionate young Lord who sought to gain political ground among the public as well as in the Parliament. We have thus seen that Byron’s use of the name “BIRON” appears most frequently during his radical years that I have been emphasizing in this chapter.¹⁴⁰

We should therefore pay greater attention to the occasions on which Byron spelled his name “Biron” instead of “Byron” because most of the cases that I have found and mentioned here were incidentally or purposefully made during the times of Byron’s radical years. It is probably a stretch to say that the “Biron” spelling shows a radical and rebellious side of Byron, and it is also true that this argument is weakened if we try to derive some special meanings from the letters that have “Biron” as their signature. But we cannot entirely ignore the possibility of either of these scenarios because Byron often

¹³⁹ According to Moore, Byron ordered three helmets, one for himself and two others for his friends who were to accompany him to Greece, one of whom was Mr. Trelawney. For this, see Moore, *Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron* (589). The helmet and Byron’s sword made at this time are now housed in the Historical and Ethnological Museum in Athens, Greece.

¹⁴⁰ Interestingly, it seems like that the public did not know the correct spelling of Byron’s name. For instance, as Nicholas Mason points out, “The *St. James Chronicle*, which struggled with the spelling of the orator’s name (“Lord Biron”), commented on the speech at length in the 27-29 February issue” (431).

used this name in the later periods of his life when he tried to do something rebellious or went against the accepted rules of society. It would therefore be plausible to say that Byron had clear reasons for using “Biron” instead of “Byron.” To him, “Biron” meant “graceless,” as he described in the lines quoted above from the tenth canto of *Don Juan*. But “graceless” does not necessarily mean negative things. On the contrary, it could also mean something positive from a different point of view. That is, the adjective “grace” does not go well with rebellious or dynamic energy, and it was rather often used as a defining characteristic of conservative stillness. Therefore, I would suggest that “Biron” symbolically signified Byron’s rebellious energy and radical determination to go against all kinds of oppression.

When Byron’s latent political desire finally exploded in 1822 through his writings, there was a clear shift in the purpose of his poems from social satire to revolutionary indoctrination, as Trueblood states (7). Byron’s attack against Tyranny also becomes fearless and more focused in the later cantos of *Don Juan*. In the ninth canto, for example, the attack cannot even be properly called a satire. Rather, it should be called a declaration of war against Tyranny:

And I will war, at least in words (and—should
 My chance so happen—deeds), with all who war
 With Thought; and of Thought’s foes by far most rude,
 Tyrants and sycophants have been and are.
 I know not who may conquer: if I could
 Have such a prescience, it should be no bar

To this my plain, sworn, downright detestation

Of every despotism in every nation. (9.24)

Of course, as Byron clearly expresses in the above stanza, there is a limitation to his political participation. That is to say, he is practicing his point only through his words rather than through deeds, yet he seems to be waiting for the time to come. His major aim is to destroy “every despotism in every nation,” but in words rather than with violence. And the first step in this battle is to gain freedom of speech and thought. In this light, Byron and Hone have some striking similarities, for Byron detested all kinds of *cant* which he defines as “the carrying sin of this double-dealing and false-speaking time of selfish spoilers” (*CPW* 5: 297).

4.4. Byron's New Experiments with *Don Juan*

Byron did not like to be bound by customs or oppressions of any kind, whether political, social, cultural, or literary ones. This was his nature, and he tried to express this rebellious spirit in his poems. Philip Martin even argues that “the inception of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was an experiment; an experiment not so much upon the public, but conducted more for Byron's purposes, to discover just how seriously he was prepared to take himself and his art” (13). Byron liked experiments that went against the existing order which he saw as shackling true freedom. Even the beginning of the composition of *Don Juan* was an experiment as Byron introduces the poem to Moore in a letter of Sept. 19, 1818. In this letter Byron states,

I have finished the First Canto (a long one, of about 180 octaves) of a poem in the style and manner of “Beppo,” encouraged by the good success of the same. It is called “Don Juan”, and is meant to be a little quietly facetious upon every thing. But I doubt whether it is not—at least, as far as it has yet done—too free for these very modest days. However, I shall try the *experiment*, anonymously, and if it don’t take, it will be discontinued. (*BLJ* 6: 67-68, italics added)

The early cantos of *Don Juan* can be seen, accordingly, as an experiment with the morality of the time. And he probably published them anonymously for fear of censure from the too-modest society. As Byron expresses here, he was not entirely sure of what he was doing, and he was willing to discontinue this experiment if it had not worked. Through his poem, however, Byron sought freedom from the prevailing literary tastes and styles of the time, which became more and more like what he denounced as *cant*.

The core of Byron’s doctrine of freedom is well represented in the famous line from *Don Juan*: “I was born for opposition” (15.22). When Byron wrote the ninth canto of *Don Juan* in late 1822, his rebellious spirit had already grown to its extremity. Byron cries out,

It is not that I adulate the people:

Without *me*, there are demagogues enough,

And infidels, to pull down every steeple,

And set up in their stead some proper stuff.

Where they may sow skepticism to reap hell,

As is the Christian dogma rather enough,
I do not know;--I wish men to be free

As much from mobs as kings—from you and me. (9.25)

Byron's utmost aversion to oppression of all kinds, whether by mobs or tyrants, is now announced loudly in the poem. He clarifies that "[he] hate[s] even democratic royalty" and wants to be "on the weaker side" (15.23), which stands in stark contrast to his timidity in the poems before *Don Juan* and even in the early cantos of *Don Juan* with regard to his political participation through his poems.

Beginning with the sixth canto of *Don Juan*, Byron emphasizes the serious political intention that he pours into his own poem rather than using the mixture of serious and comic elements as he had in the earlier cantos. Through this new style and determination, he eventually urges the weak to raise an arm to clear the web of oppression:

Raise but an arm! 'twill brush their web away,
And without *that*, their poison and their claws
Are useless. Mind, good people! What I say—
(Or rather peoples)—go on without pause!
The web of these tarantulas each day
Increase, till you shall make common cause:
None, save the Spanish fly and Attic bee,
As yet are strongly stinging to be free. (9.28)

Byron does not remain silent any longer even though he still says that “[he] is sick of politics” (12. 25). In addition, he does not seek to accomplish mere liberation from the tyrannical oppression but rather hopes for his readers to realize and achieve real freedom. Though Byron always had his readers in mind when writing *Don Juan*, his conception of that audience changed. He wrote in 1821 that he “ha[s] never written but for the solitary reader” who could find his own meaning in Byron’s poem (*BLJ* 8: 90). In the later cantos of *Don Juan*, however, Byron clearly tries to convey *his* meanings through a different kind of political speech, his poem. Throughout the poem, Byron calls for his readers’ attention by using the words “reader” or “readers” up to thirty-five times. With this new phase begun around 1822, *Don Juan* becomes a new experiment with Byron’s politics.

In addition to experimenting with something new with the contents of the poem, Byron also tried to carry out a strange experiment with the publication of *Don Juan* when he returned to it in 1822. In a letter to Kinnaird dated December 9, 1822, Byron says,

I have also to tell you that I have completed the 12th. Canto of D[on] J[uan] & will forward it when copied over fairly.—With the three first (6th. 7th. 8th. i.e.) in one volume—(as being the longest—) and the 9th. 10th. 11th. 12th.—in another—the whole may form two volumes—of about the same size as the two former.—But—I will correct the proofs of the whole when you send them to me.—Perhaps you had better publish one with one publisher and the other with another—it would be [a] new

experiment—or *one* in one month—& the other in the next—or *both* at once?—what thinkest thou?—There are some good things in them, as perhaps may be allowed. (*BLJ* 10: 51)

Byron was well aware of the printing industry and had always wanted to take part in the publishing process of his own poems. This partly comes from his close association with his publisher, John Murray, with whom he had maintained a business relationship and friendship for almost ten years since the first publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *A Romaunt* which made Byron famous in a day. Of course, there had been ups and downs in their relationship, chiefly because of the conflict between the conservative publisher's prudence to protect his business and reputation and the radical poet's boldness to experiment with his writings. Even though Byron very often gave way to the publisher's decision by saying, for example, "one must obey one's bookseller," he kept complaining about Murray's decisions and his ways of doing business (*BLJ* 2: 112). Once he even wanted the right to choose the time of publication for his poem. In a letter to Murray dated June 29, 1821, Byron says, "you must permit me to choose my *own* seasons of publication" for *Sardanapalus* (*BLJ* 8: 144). Other letters written in November 1821 to Murray show that Byron is trying to meddle with the publications of his poems with more meticulous directions (*BLJ* 9: 58-60; 71). For example, he wanted Murray to "add [*Heaven and Earth*] to the volume with Pulci and Dante (*BLJ* 9: 58)," if the former should not arrive in time; he wants three plays of *Sardanapalus*, *The Two Foscari*, and *Cain* in one volume, which he later confirmed again.

Around this time, however, the business relationship between Byron and Murray began to worsen. There was a long delay in the publication of the second volume of *Don Juan* (the third to the fifth cantos), the last canto of which was sent to Murray in December 1820 but was not published until eight months later in August 1821. For these and other reasons, Byron decided to do his new experiment with new publishers when the new cantos were ready in 1822. It was during this time that he tried to publish each of the new *Don Juan* volumes with a different publisher. If this plan had actually been put into action, the publication history of *Don Juan* would have been much more complicated than it already is, and it would have been an extraordinary example in the history of the book. Byron, however, was not able to realize this eccentric experiment though he did manage to find a new publisher for his new cantos. Byron tests Kinnaird's interest in a letter dated December 25, 1822:

You may "try back the deep lane" of Pater Noster—and other rows—and—at any rate—we can but *not* publish.—and *not* publish as well without a fair prospect.—If there were any Guarantee for H[unt] or any other Man's keeping a true account of in the mysteries of publication I would say well—and good—but there is no instance in their annals--& without precedent we may distrust the future of those regular "on account of the Author".—J[ohn] H[unt]'s Copyright offer—we cannot accept—because he has no capital, and *if* he could *not* pay—nevertheless I would not persecute a poor man to make him poorer. (*BLJ* 10: 70)

Although Byron's primary motive for finding a new publisher for the third volume of *Don Juan* was financial—he was hoping to get more copyright money than he thought possible to get from poor John Hunt in order to liquidate his remaining debt—this decision also shows that Byron was becoming more radical with everything related to *Don Juan*, including its contents, its publication and other matters.¹⁴¹

In effect, though, Byron was hesitant to cut all ties with Murray and to hire John Hunt as the publisher for his new cantos. With Murray, he had enjoyed financial success from his writings for a long time, which “may at least partially explain why Byron was so slow in cutting the last strings of his relationship with Murray in spite of the numerous negative factors,” as Blann points out (113). His letters reveal his hesitation. In February 1822, for example, Byron announced his decision to dismiss Murray as his publisher:

You will now perceive that it was as well for you—that I have decided upon changing my publisher—though that was not my motive—but dissatisfaction at one or two things in your conduct—of no great moment perhaps even then. But now—all such things disappear in my regret at having been unintentionally the means of getting you into a scrape.

(*BLJ* 9: 104)

But just a month later in March 1822, Byron “ma[de] peace with [Murray]” and asked Moore to forward to him the manuscript of the tragedy of *Werner* (published in

¹⁴¹ About Byron's anxiety about his debt, see *BLJ* (10: 17). Byron had Galignani in mind as a candidate for the new publishers (*BLJ* 9: 92-93).

November 1822), the last of Byron's works that Murray published during Byron's lifetime (*BLJ* 9: 121). By November 1822, however, Byron sent Murray two letters in which he bids his final farewells, despite his reservations about consigning the publication of the new cantos of *Don Juan* to John Hunt at this point.¹⁴²

By the middle of December 1822, Byron was obviously still vacillating on his choice of John Hunt as a proper candidate for publishing his new cantos of *Don Juan*. In two letters to Kinnaird during this time, Byron emphasizes again his reasons for not choosing Hunt, saying, "I do not think it would be advisable to publish with *H[unt]*—because firstly he has no capital—and 2dly. I *would not* come upon him if he failed" (*BLJ* 10: 59). But in another letter to Murray written on December 25, 1822, he says differently,

Mr. J[ohn] Hunt is most likely the publisher of the new Cantos— —with what prospect of success I know not—nor does it very much matter—as far as I am concerned—but I hope that it may be of use to him—for he is a stiff sturdy conscientious man—and I like him—he is such a one—as Prynne—or Pym might be. (*BLJ* 10:69)¹⁴³

It is not certain why Byron tells Murray that he has John Hunt in mind as the publisher of the new cantos in this letter, which contradicts what he wrote to Kinnaird. It is possible that Byron wanted to ensure that he would not reopen the business relationship with Murray so as not to lose the artistic freedom and the freedom of expression of his

¹⁴² For these letters, see *BLJ* (10: 28; 36).

¹⁴³ On the same day that Byron sent this letter, he also wrote a letter to Kinnaird, in which he wrote, "'try back the deep lane' of Pater Noster" [to find a publisher for the new cantos of *Don Juan*] (*BLJ* 10: 70).

radical thought. But one thing is clear, at least: here Byron does not even slightly hint that the major reason for his hesitancy comes from John Hunt's financial insufficiency.

It took Byron almost another seven months to decide finally that John Hunt would indeed publish the new cantos of *Don Juan*. On April 24, 1823, Byron writes vaguely to John Hunt, "who is to be the publisher of D[on] J[uan] I do not know" (*BLJ* 10:158). But less than a month later, on May 21, he insinuates that a decision has been made:

Sir—I have by this day's post returned to Mr. Kinnaird-the further corrected proofs of D[on] J[uan].—If you are the publisher—as I presume you will be—I shall leave to yr. discretion the mode and form of publication—but I join with you in thinking the *cheap* edition indispensable. (*BLJ* 10: 181-82)

Though this letter shows Byron still being somewhat vague about his decision, he gives John Hunt official permission to publish the new cantos on July 14, 1823. He writes, "You can publish the whole of the new eleven in three volumes—i.e.—*three* cantos in one vol.—and four in the 2d.—and four in the third—so that there will be three good sized—instead of four thin vols—as I have not had leisure to complete the 17th. Canto" (*BLJ* 10: 212).¹⁴⁴ Two days after this letter, Byron finally left Genoa for Greece by way of Leghorn, which would be his last voyage.

¹⁴⁴ On July 14, 1823, aside from writing this letter to John Hunt, Teresa Guiccioli left Byron and sailed with her father for the Romagna, and Byron was preparing to sail for Leghorn, which was postponed for days due to the inclement weather.

Though many letters that Byron wrote between December 25, 1822, and July 14, 1823, show that he was still preoccupied with economizing his expenses and preparing financially for his impending departure for Greece, there is also evidence that Byron did not want to struggle any more with the issue of making money from the new cantos, as he began living more frugally than before.¹⁴⁵ He carefully calculates his finances several times in letters to Kinnaird, providing minute details of his income from various sources.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Byron could not maintain a good relationship with Leigh Hunt in Genoa any longer. Though Byron had enjoyed his friendship with Leigh Hunt for some time in London, Hunt and his family became more of a nuisance to Byron, both financially and mentally, as time went by. After arriving in Genoa in October 1822, Byron had expressed his dislike of the Hunt family in a letter to Mary Shelley: “I have a particular dislike to any thing of S[helley]’s being within the same walls with Mr. Hunt’s children—They are dirtier and more mischievous than Yahoos[;] what they can[’t] destroy with their filth they will with their fingers” (*BLJ* 10:11). As Nicholas Roe points out “An obvious source of tension in the Hunt/ Byron/ Shelley circle at Pisa was the presence of Hunt’s six offspring” (344). A few days later, Byron complained about the Hunts in a letter to Murray, which succinctly portrayed the deteriorating relationship between the two poets and especially Hunt’s situation:

¹⁴⁵ Byron highlights his economic status in not a few letters during these times. For example, in a letter to Kinnaird dated December 1822, he writes, “In the mean time I am reducing my expences—selling horses, carriages &c. &c. —I have . . . saved rather better than three thousand three hundred pounds to begin the year with” (*BLJ* 10: 73).

¹⁴⁶ For examples, see *BLJ* (10: 85) and (10: 115).

I have done all I can for Leigh Hunt—since he came here—but it is almost useless—his wife is ill—his six children not very tractable and In the affairs of this world he himself is a child.—The death of Shelley left them totally aground—and I could not see them in such a state without using the common feelings of humanity—& what means were in my power to set them afloat again. (*BLJ* 10: 13)

The fact that Byron decided to publish his new cantos through John Hunt despite all this discord with Leigh Hunt asks us to think more about how determined Byron was in his political enthusiasm at this point.

Byron was surely full of political ambition to fight in the Greek war of Independence from the Turks when he made his final decision about the publication of the new cantos of *Don Juan*. In spite of his status as an exile in a foreign land, he could not tolerate tyrants since he was a noble lord exclaiming the need of a real hero. The following lines reveal Byron's unavoidable destiny as a romantic hero:

The Dead have been awakened—shall I sleep?
 The World's at war with tyrants—shall I crouch?
 The harvest's ripe—and shall I pause to reap?
 I slumber not—the thorn is in my Couch—
 Each day a trumpet soundeth in mine ear—
 It's [*sic*] Echo in my heart—. (*BLJ* 11:29)

These lines were originally written on June 19, 1823, less than one month before Byron made the decision about the publication of the new cantos of *Don Juan*. In addition,

“These lines,” according to Marchand, “are written at the head of the first page of the manuscript of the Journal” Byron kept in Cephalonia (*BLJ* 11: 29n1). Putting these lines at the beginning of the journal symbolically meant that Byron tried not to forget his passion to war against tyrants. In a sense, then, Byron had been blowing a war trumpet in his own ears by writing the later cantos of *Don Juan* in which he freely expresses his political convictions. However, he also realized he could not remain a hero fighting with his words only; he also needed noble actions to accomplish his own “heroic pilgrimage” like the heroes in his poems (*Biography* 3: 1078). He wanted to realize his political ambition, and the publication of the new cantos of *Don Juan* could be interpreted as one part of that realization, for the unrestrained radical contents in the poem undoubtedly represent Byron’s political stance.

Finalizing this publication decision before leaving for his Greek venture also meant something significant for Byron. After leaving England due to the disgrace he suffered from his divorce, Byron had been away from home for over seven years; now, finally, he was to decide his future destiny. Even though there were still a good number of Byron enthusiasts in England, his fame was declining gradually. Moreover, his recent publications such as the early cantos of *Don Juan* and *The Vision of Judgment* were not received favorably—the early cantos of *Don Juan* were denounced because of their immorality; *The Vision of Judgment* because of its satiric attack against the King and the poet’s association with the Hunts. Byron spoke of his current reputation in England in a letter to John Hunt in March 1823 about being engaged in the publication of the *Liberal*. He writes, “I am at this moment the most unpopular man in England” (*BLJ* 10:120). It is

certain that this apprehension must have affected what Byron was writing during this time, and he must have hoped to recover the fame that he once had tasted at the height of his literary career. On the same day he wrote this letter, he sent Kinnaird the fourteenth canto of *Don Juan* which he had obviously been writing while worrying about his fallen popularity. But the market for the new cantos could not be limited to the wealthy few in fashionable society because he surely knew that the first volume had failed financially due to its extremely high price, which prevented most of the middle- and lower-class book buyers from purchasing it. On top of this, he was also well aware of the troublesome piratical editions of the early cantos of *Don Juan*. Therefore, the primary market for the new cantos had to be extended to include those in lower socio-economic strata, in contrast to those whom Murray had initially targeted. Byron had to reestablish his popularity with these new groups of readers: but this time, he was not merely a handsome and mysterious noble lord, but also a real hero speaking for the people.

Byron knew that the new cantos of *Don Juan* would be published either when he was on his way to Greece for his heroic pilgrimage or when he was actively engaged in the fight against the tyrants in Greece. As he had timed his parliamentary speech to serve as a sort of advertisement for the upcoming publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, A Romaunt*, Byron sought to create his new public image by aligning the politically radical new cantos of *Don Juan* with his Greek adventure.¹⁴⁷ In other words, the publication of the later cantos of *Don Juan* meant not only paving the way for his future

¹⁴⁷ Robert Charles Dallas records that "[Byron] was greatly elated [after his maiden parliamentary speech], and repeated some of the compliments which had been paid him, and mentioned one or two of the Peers who had desired to be introduced to him. He concluded with saying, that he had, by his speech, given me the best advertisement for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*" (204).

career as an exiled radical hero but also justifying his recent life in Italy to his readers in England. Therefore, what was important for *Don Juan* readers when they read the new cantos was not the image of the poet who had been disgraced with his divorce and the immoral early cantos of *Don Juan*, but the new image of him shouting for freedom in the new cantos and fighting against the tyrants in the war for Greek independence. While Byron was participating in the Greek war, and even after his death, therefore, the dominant image of Byron that his readers had in mind was that of a hero fighting valiantly for freedom. Thus, the public reception of Byron right before and after his death in 1824 was far more favorable than it had been since his separation from his wife.

We can also see the increased public interest in Byron's political image as a poet for the oppressed after his Greek venture, judging from the existence of such a reprint as *The Parliamentary Speeches of Lord Byron* (1824), printed by Rodwell and Martin.¹⁴⁸ It is telling that Byron's parliamentary speeches became available again more than ten years after their first appearance.

We can also say that *Don Juan* enters a new stage simply because Byron wanted the new cantos (from the sixth canto) to be a new beginning, and he encouraged that view of the new volume by presenting a new preface. Furthermore, the preface that Byron added to cantos six, seven, and eight can be read as a sort of a signal or a turning point for *Don Juan*. Indeed, we have a different *Don Juan* in its contents, its forms of publication, and the author's attitude towards the poem. In addition, this preface divides

¹⁴⁸ For a sample copy of this item, see Bodleian Library, Shelfmark: Dunston B503. Also see Wise 48-49 for this book.

the entire story of *Don Juan* into two parts in its organization: the early cantos and the new cantos. Although the first preface, which had been suppressed by Byron himself, would not be published until 1901, it clearly discloses Byron's initial purpose in writing *Don Juan*.¹⁴⁹

The first preface was written some time after Byron finished the first canto, which was begun on July 3, 1818, and finished on September 19, 1818. According to Cochran, who transcribed the original M.S. of the preface, "Byron completed the fair copy on November 1" and probably added more stanza(s) after November 11, "the date of the arrival in Venice of his solicitor John Hanson, who may have recounted to him the rumour which Southey was spreading, about him, Shelley, Mary Godwin, Clair Claremont, and the 'League of Incest'" ("Prose Preface" 2).

The preface begins with an attack on Wordsworth and his poem "The Thorn" (included in *Lyrical Ballads*), sarcastically remarking that "the reader is desired to suppose [his poem] to be recited by [']the Captain of a Merchantman or small trading vessel – retired on a small annuity to a country town &c. &c'" ("Prose Preface" 2). Byron's attack is chiefly focused on Wordsworth at the outset of the preface, particularly on his abandonment of the early revolutionary philosophy that he had showed in his early writing, such as *A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff* (1793).¹⁵⁰ Attacking

¹⁴⁹ Peter Cochran's translation of the M.S. of the original preface is housed in the John Murray Archive, NLS. (MS Number: 43370). This same document is also available on-line in PDF format at < http://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/don_juan_prelude.pdf >. (accessed Aug. 24 2011). This prose preface was first published, according to Cochran, in *The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals*, ed. by R. E. Prothero, vol. 6, 381-83.

¹⁵⁰ *A Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*, not published during the poet's lifetime but included later in 1875 in Alexander B. Grosart's edition of Wordsworth's prose, is at the center of discussion when most

Wordsworth's turn from his early radical idealism to his later conservative realism, Byron even writes the following note "across bottoms of sides 2 and 3 of Sheet 1 of fair copy of *Don Juan*":

Wordsworth's place may be in the customs – it is – I think in that or the excise – besides another at Lord Londale's table – where this poetical Charlatan & political parasite licks up the crumbs with abandoned alacrity, the converted Jacobin having long subsided into the clownish Sycophant - <and despised retainer of the> of the worst prejudices of Aristocracy.
(“Prose Preface” 4n11)¹⁵¹

Calling Wordsworth “a political parasite” highlights his opportunistic attitude in taking a position as Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland in April 1813. Even though this post gave him financial security with the annual income of almost 400 pounds, his acceptance of the government position caused most of the younger-generation Romantic poets to feel a sense of betrayal. For instance, in his sonnet, “To Wordsworth,” published with *Alastor* (1816), Percy Shelley denounces Wordsworth on the same grounds as Byron:

Poet of Nature, thou hast wept to know
That things depart which never may return:

Wordsworth scholars deal with the poet's early radical political philosophy and his turning away from it to later conservatism. For example, E. P. Thompson, “Disenchantment or Default? A Lay Sermon,” deals with Wordsworth's radical responses to the Revolution in France and some accounts of his meetings with many radical revolutionists such as Lloyd, Lamb, Hazlitt, Mackintosh, Thelwall, and others, especially when he was at Stowey and Alfoxden with Coleridge writing *Lyrical Ballads*. See also James K. Chandler, *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of Poetry and Politics*; David V. Erdman, “The Dawn of Universal Patriotism: William Wordsworth Among the British in Revolutionary France”; and Kenneth R. Johnston, *The Hidden Wordsworth*.

¹⁵¹ “Lord Londale was Wordsworth's patron, who got him his job in the Excise,” as Cochran notes (“Prose Preface” 4n11).

Childhood and youth, friendship and love's first glow,
 Have fled like sweet dreams, leaving thee to mourn.
 These common woes I feel. One loss is mine
 Which thou too feel'st, yet I alone deplore.
 Thou wert as a lone star, whose light did shine
 On some frail bark in winter's midnight roar:
 Thou hast like to a rock-built refuge stood
 Above the blind and battling multitude:
 In honoured poverty thy voice did weave
 Songs consecrate to truth and liberty,—
 Deserting these, thou leavest me to grieve,
 Thus having been, that thou shouldst cease to be. (Hutchison 522)

Here, Shelley praises Wordsworth for his role as a socially and politically responsible poet in the past but criticizes him for his later abandonment of this role, even to the extent to say that Wordsworth should cease to be. This kind of disappointment that the younger generation of Romantic poets felt was even carried over to some Victorian poets. For instance, Robert Browning attacks Wordsworth in a similar vein in "The Lost Leader" as late as 1845:

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
 Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
 Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
 Lost all the others she lets us devote;

They, with the gold to give, doled him out silver,
 So much was theirs who so little allowed:
 How all our copper had gone for his service!
 Rags--were they purple, his heart had been proud!
 We that had loved him so, followed him, honoured him,
 Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
 Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
 Made him our pattern to live and to die! (lines 1-12)¹⁵²

In a sense, Byron's attack on Wordsworth in *Don Juan* contributed significantly to the formation of a similar sentiment among Victorian poets towards Wordsworth who became Poet Laureate in 1843.¹⁵³ To the Victorian readers and writers who had read Byron's works including *Don Juan* from their early childhood, Byron's *Don Juan* certainly provided important ground to help them think critically about society and the politics of their own and their parents' generation.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² This poem was first published in *Bells and Pomegranates. No. VII.-Dramatic Romances & Lyrics* (1845). For more about Robert Browning's attack on Wordsworth in "The Lost Leader," see John Haydn Baker's "Wordsworth Erased," *Browning and Wordsworth* especially from p. 94.

¹⁵³ Wordsworth succeeded Southey, who held the laureateship from 1813 to 1843. Southey, another renegade, had written *Wat Tyler* in the 1790s (which was pirated by Sherwood in 1817).

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth Browning (1806-1861), for instance, liked reading Byron's poems even from the time she was eleven years old, and John Ruskin (1819-1900) especially liked *Don Juan*, and his father even read out loud a number of Byron's works to his family. For more about Elizabeth Browning's reading of Byron's works, see Philip Kelley and Ronald Hudson, *The Brownings' Correspondence*, 1: 45; and concerning Ruskin's reading, see Rutherford, "Ruskin on Byron 1841-86," 421, and Cruse, *The Englishman and His Books*, 17. While it is generally true, as Elfenbein argues, that there were "a set of typical reactions" towards Byron's works—"initial enthusiasm for *Childe Harold* and the Turkish Tales, puzzlement at *Manfred*, disappointment with most of the verse dramas, and scandalized anger at *Cain* and *Don Juan*" (56).

Byron's original dedication for the first cantos of his poem, though not initially published with *Don Juan*, was written in Venice on September 16, 1818, according to the dates that Byron provides at the end of it. That is to say, Byron wrote it when he was nearly finished with the first canto of *Don Juan*. Moreover, the composition of the dedication is very likely to have been taking place during the time when Shelley was staying in Venice near Byron from August 22, 1818. Thus, one can also argue the possibility that both the first Preface to and the Dedication of *Don Juan* might also have Shelley's influence.

Part of this influence stems from Byron's more focused attention on politics in general in this preface, unlike the unpublished Preface and the Dedication published with the first volume of *Don Juan*, both of which mainly attacked individuals in the conservative camp or those who had given up their radical political positions. Strictly speaking, the original preface was not published until the new cantos were issued, but it is more obviously aligned with these cantos than with the earlier ones. Compared with the first five cantos, the new cantos and the accompanying preface can be read as far more straightforward and pointed attacks on political tyranny rather than attacks on individuals. Byron's political ken has clearly been widened and developed to an "aversion to the 'systems'" in the later cantos (Stabler 35). This development shows what Byron later says to John Murray about the increased seriousness of satiric purpose in the new cantos: "*Don Juan* will be known by and bye, for what it is intended, --a *Satire on abuse of the present state of Society*" (*BLJ* 10:68). Therefore, the new cantos as such look like a proclamation of war against the tyrannical government and, as

Trueblood claims, “one of Byron’s major emphases in the latter cantos of the poem is revolutionary indoctrination” (83). And considering the overall tones and the purpose of *Don Juan* in the new cantos, McDayter argues it would be more proper to call Byron “the poet . . . a political rather than a romantic writer” whose “work is redeemed by its attempts to motivate political activism” (36, 33). Trueblood sees a similar development, pointing out that “Byron becomes a trumpet voice, a leading exponent of that immense social movement of the early nineteenth century” (18). In the new preface, Byron emphasizes the present politics and “the degraded and hypocritical mass . . . leaven[ing] the present English generation” (*CPW* 5: 297). Byron is especially critical of what he calls “cant” throughout *Don Juan*, and he agrees with Voltaire’s description of the present society: “‘La pudeur s’est enfuite des coeurs, et s’est réfugiée sur les levres.’ ‘Plus les mœurs sont depraves, plus les expressions deviennent mesurées; on croit regagner en langage ce qu’on a perdu en vertu.’”¹⁵⁵

The new cantos can also be distinguished from the early ones in terms of the physical forms of the books. First of all, even before making his final choice of publisher of the new cantos, Byron knew he wanted to issue them not in a quarto-sized edition but in editions of various sizes, as shown in a letter to John Hunt dated May 21, 1823 (*BLJ* 10: 181-82). His main goal was to beat the cheap piratical editions that Byron thought was the cause of the financial failure of the early cantos (*BLJ* 10: 181-82). When the first volume of the new cantos was finally published in July 1823 by John Hunt, a radical

¹⁵⁵ “Modesty has fled from hearts and taken refuge on lips. The more depraved our conduct is, the more guarded words become; we believe we can regain with words what we have lost in character” (Beatty 204n5).

publisher who had also issued the *Liberal* (1822-24) and the *Examiner*, *Don Juan* was issued in three different sizes: demi-octavo (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ inch) at 9s 6d (1,500 copies); foolscap octavo (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ inch) at 7s (3,000 copies); and the “common edition,” or octodecimo (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch) at 1s (16,000 copies).¹⁵⁶

The various sizes, prices, and numbers of copies of each edition imply many things. We can account for these differences from a variety of perspectives, and some interesting interpretations arise. For example, publishing *Don Juan* in the smallest and cheapest edition, or the so-called “common” edition, might imply that the book was intended to be available to literate working-class readers who were first attracted to the cheap piratical editions. Additionally, this small edition can easily appeal to some curious female readers who might want to hide it from other people’s eyes so as to read it surreptitiously because the previously published cantos of the poem had been notorious for its immoral contents and thought to be morally harmful, especially to women. At the same time, judging from the fact that the largest number of copies in the production of the third volume was assigned to the smallest and cheapest edition, we can easily assume that the book was mainly intended to defeat the cheap piratical editions that could possibly pour into the market. By offering more options in sizes and prices for the purchasers, the new cantos of *Don Juan* could become accessible to readers from all

¹⁵⁶ The sizes and the prices are taken from Peter W. Graham, “Byron and the Business of Publishing,” 41, and the numbers of the copies for each size are *RNRP* 327. However, St Clair probably provides an incorrect number of copies for the octodecimo (or common) edition. Based on my examination of John Hunt’s manuscript accounts, 16,000 copies of this edition were printed. It is certain that St Clair mistook the number of copies of the common edition of cantos 9, 10, and 11, of which edition 17,000 copies were printed, for the number of copies of the same edition of cantos 6, 7, and 8. For this, see “Accounts, 1822-1824, by John Hunt for works of Lord Byron,” MS. 43732 at John Murray Archive, NLS.

classes, which eventually abolished the previous economic stratification of access to *Don Juan*. Felluga remarks on another result: “Once Byron’s work participated in the disseminations of a mass market and was able to access a new category of reader, the radical elements of his new vision for the romance suddenly opened up the potential for subversive effects” (92).

According to St Clair’s record of the production of the early cantos, 5,100 copies of the first volume of *Don Juan* were published in 1819, which included the first quarto edition and the subsequent octavo one, and 6,000 copies of the second volume (the third through the fifth cantos), were published in 1821 in two sizes of octavo and small paper (or foolscap octavo) (*RNRP* 327). But when the third volume of *Don Juan* was finally introduced to its readers almost two years later, John Hunt published many more copies in this publishing experiment than had been published of the previous cantos. In 1823, 20,500 copies of the official third volume of *Don Juan* were published, making this new *Don Juan* available to the whole nation at the same time (*RNRP* 327). So St Clair argues, “[a]lready by 1823 the minimum cost of reading large passages of *Don Juan* had fallen below the level of most newspapers. In 1826 it was reported that the price had fallen to a half penny (presumably for one of the parts second-hand)” (*RNRP* 206). Even though the price of the new cantos of *Don Juan* was not yet reduced to the cheap price of sixpence, it was “just about affordable by the families with incomes of 10 shillings or £ 1 (or 20 shillings) a week”; the reduction in the price surely expanded the readership of Byron’s radical experiment to those who had been prevented from purchasing the official edition

Table 3 “Accounts, 1822-1824, by John Hunt for works of Lord Byron.” (MS. 43732 at John Murray Archive, NLS).

Don Juan, Cantos 6, 7, and 8

Published July 15, 1823

Octavo Edition-Printed	1500		
stationers' Hall	11		
Hon. D. Kinnaird	2		
On hand	237		
		250	
		1250	£ s. d.
At 6/. 25 as 24			360: -: -
 Foolscap 18mo Edition- Printed	 3000		
Hon. D.K.	2		
On Hand	695		
		700	
		2300	
At 4/3 25 as 24			469: 4: 0
 Common Edition – printed	 16000		
Stamp office	1		
Hon. D. K.	2		
On Hand	1297		
		1300	
		14700	
3000 at 7d 25 as 24	84		
11700 at 8d 25 as 24	374:8		
		458:8	
		1287:12:0	

of the poem in the past, namely working-class literate readers (*RNRP* 206).¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, this price policy contributed to the mass circulation of Byron's works even in the following years.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ As St Clair argues, however, the price of sixpence was still not a comfortable price for the poor in absolute terms (*RNRP* 206).

As successful as this publishing strategy was, this reduction in the prices of *Don Juan* was possible for several reasons such as the advances in print technologies (including mechanized papermaking in 1803), the steam-powered press in 1814, and many others.¹⁵⁹ The record in Table 3 shows the sales figures of the editions of different sizes containing the sixth to the eighth cantos of *Don Juan*. The date on the document suggests this was transcribed on January 1, 1824. By this time, 1,250 out of 1,500 copies of the octavo edition, 2,300 out of 3,000 copies of the foolscap edition, and 14,700 out of 16,000 copies of the common edition had been sold, which comes to 89% of the entire copies published. The gross sales reached 1,287*l* 12*s*. Half of this one-page document contains the records of expenses related to the production of the three editions of this volume of *Don Juan*. For publishing expenses, John Hunt spent 599*l* 15*s* 5.5*d* in total, including costs for paper reams, setting and resetting types, advertisements (36*l* 8*s* 10.5*d*), and so forth.¹⁶⁰ Net income from the third volume of *Don Juan* was, therefore, only 689*l* 17*s* 4.5*d*. Thus, if John Hunt had been asked to pay a considerable amount of money for the copyright of the new cantos of *Don Juan*, which he was not asked to do,

¹⁵⁸ Dino adds a brief discussion about the price and the expansion of Byron readership in *The Perversity of Poetry*, esp. 89-90.

¹⁵⁹ As Lee Erickson notes, “the Fourdrinier brothers developed a mechanical paper-making machine that was producing paper by 1807,” and “[b]y 1822 mechanical paper making was producing over half of all paper for printing” (219). Therefore, “despite the increasing demand for paper, the Fourdrinier paper-making machine contributed to a drop of a third in the price of paper from 1810 to the end of the period thus to lower prices for most books” (219). Steam was first used in printing when the *Times* of November 28, 1814, was produced ... on a machine invented by Frederick Koenig, but not until the 1840’s did steam generally replace hand labor in book printing (Altic 262).

¹⁶⁰ Interestingly, in this record I found that John Hunt spent 6*l* for stereotyping 3 sheets of the common edition, which needs further attention from Byron scholars because this shows that Leigh Hunt might have thought of mass production of the poem.

he would have had no choice but to raise the price of his publications, which would have significantly changed the Byron readership.

Therefore, not paying the copyright money to the author, and therefore having a lessened financial burden, was one of the most significant factors that allowed John Hunt to lower the prices of each edition. Strictly speaking, the new cantos were still owned by Byron because he refused John Hunt's offer of money for the copyright of *Don Juan*, as we learn from Byron's letter to Kinnaird dated December 25, 1822. We do not know how much John Hunt offered for the copyright, but Byron was surely considering the poor publisher's financial situation when he writes to Kinnaird, "J[ohn] H[unt]'s Copyright offer—we cannot accept—because he has no capital, and *if* he could *not* pay—nevertheless I would not prosecute a poor man to make him poorer" (*BLJ* 10: 70-71). The next day, on December 26, 1822, Byron wrote another letter to Kinnaird in which he emphasizes his intention not to sell the copyrights of the new cantos: "the [Copy]right to remain with the author—and the *profits* to be settled on a fair basis" (*BLJ* 10: 72). In other words, Byron chose to do business with his publisher by a net-profit-sharing method without handing over the copyright to the new cantos, but we do not have any clear records showing how much Byron received from the publication of the new cantos from John Hunt.¹⁶¹ In this way, without paying thousands of pounds as

¹⁶¹ St Clair offers some explanation about four main types of publishing contracts: 1) the author sells the copyright to a publisher outright for a lump sum 2) the publisher buys the copyright for an edition of a certain agreed size or copies 3) the author and a publisher share the net profits 4) the author invests for the costs and the risks, and the publisher takes a royalty on sales, or the so-called "on commission" publishing (*RNRP* 161-69).

Murray did for the early cantos, John Hunt was able to lower significantly the price of each edition of the new cantos.¹⁶²

Many of Byron's publications bear profound meanings not only from a literary perspective but also from their material aspects, even before readers could come to have the works in their hands. Therefore, the author's decision to keep the copyright to his own poem also affected the expansion of its readers by allowing the publisher to reduce the supply price of the new cantos of *Don Juan*. This eventually diversified the readership of the poem and transformed and complicated its reception. All these various determinants influenced the reception of Byron's works, along with the poet's and his books' voluntary and involuntary associations with the radical publishers from the first volume of the serial publication.

¹⁶² There is no record of the amount of money that John Hunt offered for the copyright to the new cantos of *Don Juan*. But it seems that Byron once was offered 1,500 guineas for the first batch of the new cantos (cantos 6, 7, and 8) by Murray and asked 2,500 guineas for it, which did not happen. (For this, see Curwen 182-83). For the first two volumes of the early cantos of *Don Juan*, Murray paid 3,050 pounds (1,575 pounds for each volume). For the cost for the copyright of Byron's works, see Curwen 185.

CHAPTER V

“REMIT MY BRAIN-MONEY”:

BYRON’S CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARDS COPYRIGHT MONEY

“Whatever Brain-money—you get on my account from Murray—pray remit me—I will never consent to pay away what I earn—that is mine--& what I get by my brains. . . .”

Byron’s letter to Hobhouse on January 19, 1819 (*BLJ* 6: 92).

Despite the aristocratic nonchalance towards monetary issues that Lord Byron showed in his early literary career, his writing career was really quite lucrative. The total sum of money that his literary works made for the copyrights amounted to £24,565.¹⁶³ Out of this, Byron received £15,430. This amount of money in the 1820s would have the same spending worth of £646,825.60 in 2005 or \$1, 053,498.75 in 2011, and a craftsman in the building trade in 1820 would have had to work daily for almost 282 years in order to make this amount of money.¹⁶⁴ Considered another way, this amount of

¹⁶³ Curwen, in *History of Booksellers*, provides a detailed account of the copyright money earned for Byron’s works in a list arranged in chronological order (185-86). Out of this sum, £525 for *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, *A Romanut*, £525 for *Corsair*, and £4,200 for *Life of Lord Byron* by Thomas Moor were not given to Byron. In addition, £3,885 for 65 short and long poems including *Werner*, *Heaven and Earth*, and others was paid by Murray to Hobhouse on July 16, 1830 after Byron’s death. For this see MS.43557, John Murray Archive, NLS. Thanks to David McClay, Senior Curator, John Murray Archive, NLS for informing me of the existence of the manuscript. Curwen does not include 1,000 guineas of the copyright money of *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*. For more about the copyright money for Byron’s works, see Appendix A.

¹⁶⁴ I used the currency converter on *The National Archives* website to calculate the relative value of old money. The website also offers Buying Power converter. The currency exchange rate from the British pound to the US dollar is 1GBP = 1.634 USD (as of Aug. 05, 2011). Throughout this chapter, I refer often to pounds and guineas often, so here are some basic equivalencies: 1 guinea = 1 pound and 1 shilling, 1 pound = 20 shillings, and 500 guineas = 525 pounds.

money had an equivalent buying power to purchase 3,085 cows in the same period.

Given the amount of money Byron earned from his poetry, it is certainly absurd to assert that Byron wrote his numerous poems only as ways to escape from his ennui without any financial incentives in mind, just as it is absurd to say that Byron wrote his poems, *Don Juan* for instance, with the sole purpose of instigating political insurrection among disgruntled working-class readers or stimulating female readers' interest in immoral love affairs as described in the poem, all of which has been addressed in previous chapters.

This dissertation has shown that a variety of circumstances surely affected the writing of Byron's works, and it is especially apparent when it comes to such a long poem as *Don Juan* which was written over a long span of time during which the author of it experienced numerous trials and tribulations. Among these circumstances, Byron's changing attitude towards his own writings plays a significant role, in particular because of his thought and insistence during his later period from 1816 that he should get proper financial rewards for his literary work. Byron's conception of himself as a professional writer making money from his writing is clearly expressed in countless letters he exchanged with his publisher, Murray, and his financial adviser, Kinnaird. Furthermore, this tendency grew much stronger after he left England in 1816, humiliated because he had to dispose of his library on April 4-5, 1816, in order to pay his debts and had all of his belongings seized by bailiffs on April 24, right after his departure for Switzerland.

It seems that Byronic scholarship has not paid serious attention to Byron's money issues in dealing with the poet and his life in connection with his literary works, even though a great number of his letters are filled with an incessant interest in financial

affairs.¹⁶⁵ Instead, historical, political, or cultural contexts obviously have always been the focus of a large portion of Byron studies. This is partly because of literary scholars' general reluctance to talk about money matters in association with literary criticism¹⁶⁶; McGann has pointed out that "one of the basic illusions of Romantic Ideology is that only a poet and his works can transcend a corrupting appropriation by 'the world' of politics and money" (*Romantic Ideology* 13). Moreover, it could be, in a sense, harmful rather than beneficial to highlight pecuniary aspects of such a noble, famous, canonical poet as Lord Byron. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that Byron was greatly occupied with financial concerns throughout his life, and his earnings from the copyrights of his poems were a significant part of his income, especially after his departure from England in 1816. Therefore, arguing that an economic logic works as a vital determinant in both the creation and the consumption of literary products, this chapter chiefly explores Byron's attitude towards his own writings and his financial conditions which certainly urged him to insist more strongly on acquiring what he called "brain-money."

¹⁶⁵ The most extensive and detailed book-length publication that addresses Byron's financial condition and his monetary interests is Doris Langley Moore's *Lord Byron: Accounts Rendered* (1974).

¹⁶⁶ A good exception to this reluctance is the collection of essays in *Literature in the Marketplace* (1995). Manning's chapter "Wordsworth in the *Keepsake*, 1829" (44-73) and Stephen Gill's chapter "Copyright and the publishing of Wordsworth, 1850-1900" (74-92) pay particular attention to issues related to making money from literary products. Another good place to look at scholarly attention to financial matters in the nineteenth-century literary studies is Lee Erickson's *The Economy of Literary Form* (1996).

5.1. Byron's Financial Troubles and Ambivalent Attitude Regarding Copyright Money in England

Those who are not well-acquainted with Byron's financial condition may think that it is unusual to see such a popular and noble lord as Byron, who would have a splendid literary career, asking for more money for his writings. However, the truth about his financial situation is far different from what we may first perceive from his status as a noble celebrity who attracted tremendous attention from the upper-class, fashionable society and other social strata. In other words, as Doris Langley Moore insists, "[t]here is little indeed in Byron's life or any other which is not linked up with some financial story" (3). For most of his life, Byron had lived as a debtor even when he had some thousand pounds of cash available in his bank accounts.

Byron's family was not wealthy enough during his early childhood to enjoy any pride in their ancestry as descendents of the noble bloods of the Byrons and the Gordons.¹⁶⁷ The pedigree of the Byron family goes back to the time of William the Conqueror (1028-1087) in the eleventh century when they were called the Buruns. According to Marchand, "the first members of the Byron family in England are supposed to have been Ernegis and Radulfus (Ralph) de Burun, large landholders in the north of England in the time of the Conqueror," and "[b]y the time of Henry II (1165-1189) the spelling 'Byron' had been fixed" (*Biography* 1: 4). William, the fifth Baron Byron and the grandfather of the poet, was also called the "Wicked Lord" by his tenants

¹⁶⁷ On a brief historical description of Byron's ancestries, see chapter one, "The Byrons and the Gordons," in *Biography* 1: 3-23.

and neighbors; he cut a legendary figure of extravagance because he “drain[ed] the resources of Newstead” and darkness because of his “unspeakable orgies” (*Biography* 1: 7). Marchand comments on the fifth Lord Byron’s extravagance:

Old Joe Murray, his most trusted and devoted servant for many years, reported that his ‘dear late Lord, whenever there were any very rare and costly articles of vertu or art on sale in London, would order horses to his carriage and set out at a moment’s notice to purchase them.’ In 1749, only two years after his marriage, he built among the trees on a rise overlooking the lake a miniature castle, said to be the scene of many concerts and gay parties. (*Biography* 1: 7)

The poet’s father, also known as Captain John Mad Jack Byron, was a profligate son with a bad reputation for scandalous relationships with the ladies in London (*Biography* 1: 13). He eloped, at last, with Lady Carmarthen, the marchioness of Francis whose husband later became the fifth Duke of Leeds, and married her in 1779.¹⁶⁸ But after her death on January 26, 1784, Captain Byron lost her £4,000 annual income as well and went in search for another heiress. He found Catherine Gordon of Gight in Bath early in 1785 and married her on May 13, 1785. By the summer of 1786, almost within the first year of their marriage, he had squandered the £3,000 that his new wife had in cash and all other disposable property, including the lands of Gight in Scotland, and left another £8,000 debts behind. Mrs. Byron, the poet’s mother, had been “constantly harassed by

¹⁶⁸ Marchand tells us “She bore him three children, the last and only one to survive beyond infancy being Augusta, the poet’s half sister, born in 1783” (*Biography* 1: 14).

financial worries” and also had to move frequently to avoid creditors (*Biography* 1: 25). Moreover, Captain Byron died August 2, 1791, in France, when the poet Byron was only three and a half years old. When William John, the poet’s great uncle and heir presumptive to the title of Byron, “had been killed by a cannon ball at the Battle of Calvi in Corsica on July 31, 1794” (*Biography* 1: 36), the poet Byron became a new heir presumptive to the Baron title and estates, but also with significantly reduced familial property.

Finally, when the fifth Baron Byron died on May 21, 1798, George Gordon became the sixth Baron Byron of Rochdale. The financial situation of the Byron family, however, did not become much better: even after her son inherited the Baron title and estate, Mrs. Byron’s yearly income had been reduced to £150 in July 1799. The following draft of a “letter of appeal, composed for Mrs. Byron by [John] Hanson, to the Duke of Portland, Tory leader of the House of Lords” in order to get some financial aids, reveals the financial difficulty that Mrs. Byron faced (Doris Moore 52):

My Lord,

Being a Stranger to your Grace, I feel much Embarrassment in presuming to address you upon a Subject of so much Delicacy, but the Knowledge I have of your Grace’s Candour and Goodness and the Peculiarity of my own Situation prompt me to solicit your Grace’s attention to what I am about to state.

By the Death of the late Lord Byron that Title devolved upon my Son now 12 [*sic*] years of age and with it an estate not Exceeding £_____ a

Year and that even in a most dilapidated Condition. My own Situation is simply this, upon my Marriage with the late Mr Byron he possessed my Fortune which was considerably more than £20,000, but unfortunately for myself and Son all that is left is £4,200—and to ye Int[erest] thereof I am entitled during my life subject to a Payment thereout [*sic*] of £60 a year to my aged Grand Mother, which reduces my income to £150 a year which is all I have to live upon and since ye Death of Mr Byron in 17__ to the Death of the late Lord Byron in May 1798, I have had to maintain my Son out of it.

I am myself descended from an ancient & Noble family, namely Sir Wm. Gordon who _____. It has been mentioned to me that Persons in my Situation have been thought ye object of His Majesty's bounty. May I then indulge a hope that my Situation when represented to the throne _____ (Doris Moore 52).¹⁶⁹

The Duke replied to this suppliant promptly and graciously and got the opportunity to speak to the King. As a result, “on August 24th 1799, within a month of first hearing from her, [the Duke] was able to inform her that Mr Pitt had been ordered to pay her £300 a year” (Doris Moore 53). But this pension was still not adequate to all the expenses required for her domestic economy and was not paid regularly.

¹⁶⁹ Moore explains, “[t]here the draft ends, blanks being left when Hanson was uncertain what she might correctly say or how she might wish to end” (52).

After all the financial squandering by Byron's ancestors, the poet Byron and his mother were always in need of money during the poet's childhood. But Byron was, in fact, not much different from his ancestors when it came to financial management in his youth. In December 1805, not long after arriving at Cambridge, he sent a letter to Augusta, his half-sister, in order to ask her to be a joint security with him for a loan from a moneylender because he was a Minor.¹⁷⁰ "Augusta," as Marchand states, "was frightened and offered to lend him money" (*BLJ* 1: 87n1), but "in the end Mrs. Massingberd and her daughter signed as joint guarantors of his loan"¹⁷¹: "this was the beginning of Byron's involvement with moneylenders," which would afflict him for a long time (*BLJ* 1: 87n1).

Moreover, it is a great wonder to consider the amount of debt Byron accumulated during his Cambridge days for his extravagant lifestyle. Among other instances, the letter written a few years later on January 25, 1808, shows how uneconomical Byron was and how stressful the enormous amount of accumulated debts were to him. In this letter, Byron urgently requests Hanson to "confer a favour upon [him] by the Loan of twenty" and sums up his financial situation as follows:

You will confer a favor upon me by the Loan of twenty, I will endeavour to repay it next week I am now in my one and twentieth year, and cannot command as many pounds, to Cambridge I cannot go without

¹⁷⁰ According to Marchand, "Byron had entered himself at Trinity College, Cambridge, on July 1, but he did not take residence until the autumn term began on October 24, 1805" (*BLJ* 1: 78n1). For the letter to Augusta written on December 27, 1805, see *BLJ* 1: 86-87.

¹⁷¹ "Mrs. Elizabeth Massingberd [was] Byron's landlady in London during his youth" (Marchand, *Lord Byron: Selected Letters* 110n3).

paying my Bills, and at present I could as soon as compass the National Debt, in London I must not remain, nor shall I, when I can procure a trifle to take me out of it, home I have none my Debts amount to three thousand three hundred to Jews, eight hundred to Mrs. B[yron] of Nottingham, to Coachmaker, and other Tradesmen, a thousand more, and these must be much increased before they can be lessened. –Such is the prospect before me, which is by no means brightened by ill health. (*BLJ* 1: 149)

Highlighting the seriousness of his financial situation, Byron wrote another letter to Hanson on the same day and enclosed a receipt for the loan in advance. As Cruse states, “[i]t is small wonder that [Byron] left the university without a degree and ten thousand pounds in debt,” and “he was notorious all over Cambridge” for “ke[eping] a tame bear and several bulldogs which he named after some of the masters and tutors. He paid no attention to college rules and lived with reckless extravagance” (111).

Even though Byron had had serious financial troubles, he tried to maintain his dignity as an aristocratic poet regarding the copyright money for the first and second cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 1812. Andrew Nicholson identifies three documents relating to the copyright agreement between Byron, Murray, and R. C. Dallas, Byron's cousin. In the first one, dated Tuesday, March 17, 1812, Byron writes to Murray, “I desire that you will settle any account for Childe Harold with Mr R. C. Dallas to whom I have presented the Copy Right” (*LJM* 6). The second document is a receipt written in Dallas's hand for 101/ 15s 8d and half share of the profits of the first edition (a

quarto) of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (dated Wednesday April 1, 1812). To this Dallas also adds, "This Receipt is for the above Sum in part of five hundred Guineas agreed to be paid by Mr Murray for the Copyright of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage—" (*LJM* 6). The last one is the Copyright agreement written in Murray's hand with his and Dallas's signatures. So Byron's first earnings from his poetry were given to his kinsman.¹⁷²

Byron became the most famous and unprecedented literary celebrity who was frequently talked about in London after publishing *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, but he was unwilling to receive money from his poem, which Mr. Dallas notes in his "Memoir":

After speaking to Lord Byron of the sale [of the quarto edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*], and settling the new edition [of the octavo *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*], I said 'How can I possibly think of this rapid sale, and the profits likely to ensue, without recollecting'—'What?' interposed Byron. 'Think,' continued Dallas, 'what a sum your work may produce.' 'I shall be rejoiced,' said Byron, 'and wish it doubled and trebled; but do not talk to me of money. I never will receive money for my writings.' 'I ought not to differ in an opinion which puts hundreds into my purse, but others'—He put out his hand to me, shook mine, and turned the conversation. (qtd. in Smiles 1: 211)

¹⁷² About Murray's copyright payments for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *A Romanut* and *The Corsair*, both of which were given to Dallas, see Cochran "Did Byron Take Money for His Early Poems?" (72-73).

This is the attitude that Byron kept towards the copyright money of his poems in his early period. “Still holding the aristocratic view that a gentleman should not take money for his poetry” even in January 1816 when he was in the middle of his financial troubles (*BLJ* 5: 13n1), Byron tried not to think of writing poetry as any means to yield a profit. When Murray offered 1,000 guineas for the copyrights of *The Siege of Corinth* and *Parsina*, published February 2, 1816, Byron also refused to accept it. Even though it was once suggested, by Mr. Rogers and Sir James Mackintosh, to Byron that a portion of it (£600) be given to the relief of William Godwin and Byron himself proposed that the remainder should be divided between Mr. Maturin and Mr. Coleridge, “the increasing pressure of his debts” eventually compelled Byron “to accept the sum . . . and use it for his own purposes” (Smiles 1: 355-56).¹⁷³

At this point, we should pay attention to Byron’s pressing financial situation around this period. In early November 1815, less than two months before Byron initially refused the copyright money of 1,000 guineas, a bailiff had entered 13 Piccadilly Terrace, Byron’s residence, on behalf of creditors. The bailiff camped there and stayed overnight, which angered Byron but also made him resolve to sell his library.¹⁷⁴ Byron had already

¹⁷³ Murray sent out two copyright checks for *The Siege of Corinth* and *Parisina* as follows: a check of 500 guineas on March 29, 1816, post-dated two months, cashed June 1; another check of 550 guineas on March 29, 1816, post-dated three months, cashed July 24 (Cochran and Beckett, “Byron’s Finances,” 30). “Byron’s Finances” includes Byron’s accounts with Hoare’s Bank and Hammersley’s Bank and many other materials related to Byron’s finances, available at Peter Cochran’s website. I pay my great appreciation to Peter Cochran for letting me know and use this material.

¹⁷⁴ “Hearing of Byron’s intention to sell his books due to financial difficulties, Murray sent a cheque for £1,500” (*BLJ* 4: 333n1), assuring him that an equal sum would be sent to him in a few weeks. At the same time, Murray offered to sell his copyrights for Byron’s use. But Byron returned the check and rejected Murray’s offer on November 14, 1815. For this, also see, Smiles 1: 353. For more on the sale records of Byron’s library, see Cochran’s “Byron’s Library: The Three Book Sale Catalogues,” which provides the

sold the furniture in Newstead in the previous month (*Biography* 2: 545). The distress caused by his creditors was so unbearable that Byron had to experience extreme mental stress at the end of November 1815. Hobhouse recalled Byron's situation and states that "his pecuniary embarrassments were such as to *drive him half-mad*" (qtd. in *Biography* 2:555). All these financial pressures surely pushed Byron to abandon his aristocratic pride and to permit himself to accept the copyright money. He finally came to have a professional identity, despite his denial, of a poet making money from his pen, for which Lady Byron expressed her dislike, saying, "Don't give yourself up to the abominable trade of versifying" (qtd. in *Biography* 2: 563).

As a matter of fact, the 1,000 guineas for the copyright of *The Siege of Corinth* and *Parisina* was not the first offer that Byron received from his publisher. Three years earlier, in 1813, Murray "beg[ged] leave to offer [Byron] the sum of One Thousand Guineas" for *Giaour* (1813) and *The Bride of Abydos* (1813),¹⁷⁵ about which Byron writes in his journal entry of November 17, 1813 as follows: "Mr. Murray has offered me one thousand guineas for the "Giaour" and the "Bride of Abydos." I won't—it is too much, though I am strongly tempted, merely for the *say* of it. No bad price for a fortnight's (a week each) what?—the gods know—it was intended to be called Poetry" (*BLJ* 3: 212).¹⁷⁶ As Byron confesses, Murray's offer of such a great sum of money must have been a strong temptation for Byron who was in desperate need of money. A few

catalogues of 1813, 1816, and 1827 with detailed analysis and complete lists of the books included in each catalogue.

¹⁷⁵ For Murray's offer of this copyright, see *LJM* 48.

¹⁷⁶ For the copyright agreement between Murray and Byron, also see Murray's letters in *LJM* 17, 19, 24, 33 and their notes.

months later in February 1814, *The Corsair* was a great hit on the literary market, selling 10,000 copies on the day of its publication, which was, as Murray writes to Byron, “a thing perfectly unprecedented” (*LJM* 72).¹⁷⁷ In response to this success, “[o]n Thursday 17 February, the *Courier* had charged Byron with having ‘received and pocketed’ [*sic*] sums for his poetry” (*LJM* 82). Since Byron had already given the copyright of *The Corsair* to Dallas as a gift, “[Dallas sent] a letter to the *Morning Post* making public acknowledgment . . . that Byron had ‘never received a shilling for any of his work’” (*Biography* 1: 434). In this letter Dallas also “stated that JM [John Murray] could testify that ‘no part of the sale’ of *The Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydos* had ever touched B[yron]’s hands or been disposed of for his use” (*LJM* 82).¹⁷⁸

Despite the financial pressures Byron was experiencing, especially in late 1813 and early 1814, Byron saved his name as an aristocratic poet by refusing to take the copyright money. However, it seems that there was another reason he was able to resist the financial temptation for some time. In effect, Byron was expecting a large sum of money from the sale of Newstead Abbey during this time, despite his promise to his mother with regard to the preservation of the Abbey as a source of familial pride and a significant family property handed down from his ancestors.

¹⁷⁷ *Corsair* was published on February 1, 1814. Based on St Clair’s research on the impact of Byron’s writing, Ghislaine McDayter highlights the success of *The Corsair*: “Byron had reached at least 36 percent of the potential market for his publication of *The Corsair*. This means that even if ‘every family in Great Britain with an annual income of 65 pounds or more’ purchased a copy of *The Corsair* that would still mean ‘an astonishing 8 per cent’ of the population were purchasers” (106).

¹⁷⁸ Murray’s offer of 500 guineas for *The Corsair* was not an exorbitant sum of money for the copyright of such a popular poem, especially considering that it ran through nine editions, producing 25,000 copies, by 1815 (*RNRP* 587).

For a short period of time before Byron set off on his Grand Tour with Hobhouse, he had been determined not to give up Newstead Abbey. For example, in a letter of March 6, 1809, to Mrs. Byron, his mother, Byron expresses his strong will to keep the family vestige and inheritance:

What you say is all very true, come what may! Newstead and I stand or fall together, I have now lived on the spot, I have fixed my heart upon it, and no pressure present or future, shall induce me to barter the last vestige of our inheritance; I have that Pride within me, which will enable me to support difficulties, I can endure privations, but could I obtain in exchange for Newstead Abbey the first fortune in the country, I would reject the proposition.—Set your mind at ease on that score. Mr. Hanson talks like a man of Business on the subject, I feel like a man of honour, and I will not sell Newstead. (*BLJ* 1: 195-96)

Again in the next month, on April 26, 1809, Byron wrote a letter to Hanson, who had been persistently asking Byron to sell the Abbey to pay his debts, part of which goes as follows:

My debts are daily increasing, and it is with difficulty I can command a shilling, as soon as possible I shall quit this country, but I wish to do justice to my creditors . . . more particularly to my *securities*, for their annuities must be paid off soon, or the Interest will swallow up every thing, come what may, in every shape, and in any shape I can meet ruin, but I will never sell Newstead, the Abbey and I shall stand or fall together,

and were my head as grey and defenseless as the Arch of the Priory, I would abide by this Resolution.—The whole of my wishes are summed up in this, procure me either of my own, or borrowed from others, three thousand pounds, place two in Hammersley's Hands for Letters of credit at Constantinople, if possible sell Rochdale in my absence, pay off these annuities and my debts, and with the little that remains do as you will, but allow me to depart from this cursed country, and I promise to turn *Musulman* rather than return to it. (*BLJ* 1: 202)

Byron's adamant resolution to "stand and fall together" with Newstead Abbey was finally weakened. After returning from his tour, Byron desired to go abroad again, "but he could not do so without having fresh funds in hand . . . [so] Newstead would positively have to go" (Doris Moore 196-97).

On August 14, 1812, Newstead Abbey was put up for auction, but no bid was high enough,¹⁷⁹ "[b]ut the next day Thomas Claughton of Hay dock Lodge near Warrington in Lancashire offered £140,000 for it, and the offer was accepted a few days later" (*BLJ* 2: 188n1).¹⁸⁰ Between 1812 and 1814, Byron received £28,000 in total from Claughton for the transaction, which certainly eased Byron's financial troubles, at least

¹⁷⁹ Hanson insisted on £120,000 as a reserve price.

¹⁸⁰ About Claughton's purchase of Newstead Abbey, also see Doris Moore, 196-208. John Beckett's *Byron and Newstead* is probably the best book that offers the detailed history of the sale of the Abbey, especially chapter 9 "The Sale of Newstead," 211-39. In addition, Cochran's review of Beckett's book, entitled "Lord Byron and Newstead," offers another detailed account regarding Claughton's payment; for this review visit <<http://www.internationalbyronsociety.org/>>, in which Cochran also comments on the date of Claughton's offer: "[In] *Account Rendered* 197 [Beckett] says it was made two weeks after the Garroways auction: *BLJ* II viii say the following day" (Review of *Byron and Newstead* 5n19). In the footnote on page 188, Marchand notes the offer was made "the next day" (*BLJ* 2: 188n1).

temporarily. The sum was paid in several installments over the years. Most of the payments “passed through the account at Hoare’s [in Fleet Street] that Byron opened in October 1812 to receive the first installment of Claughton’s deposit” (Beckett, *Newstead* 186). Claughton paid the deposit in several installments, amounting to £28,000 in total: £5,000 in October 1812, £15,000 in July 1813 (in two installments), and £8,000 in the first six months of 1814 (in two payments of £5,000 and £3,000).¹⁸¹

John Beckett offers detailed accounts about where the Claughton money was spent in *Byron and Newstead*. Out of the £20,000 that Byron received from Claughton between 1812 and 1813, Byron made payments of about £19,000. With the first deposit of £5,000 (October 1812), Byron paid the following debts: £1,500 paid to Scrope Davies; £1,500 paid to Hanson for the deposit on the Rochdale tithes; £2,135 paid for a series of bills (Beckett *Newstead* 186).¹⁸² As a result, “[b]y the end of June 1813 the account showed a net deficit of £85” (Beckett *Newstead* 186).

Out of the £15,000 Claughton paid to Byron in July 1813, £4,500 was withdrawn for Byron’s own purposes; £2,840 was loaned to Hanson for his unpaid legal bills; “£3,000 was transferred to his account at Hammersley’s toward his projected travels with Hobhouse”¹⁸³; £1,000 was paid to Augusta on August 16; £1,000 was paid to

¹⁸¹ For the minute details of the transaction, see Beckett, *Newstead* 186-87.

¹⁸² A total of 1,591/ 7s 1d was deposited into the account at Hoare’s by June 7, 1813. And the sources of the additional deposits are as follows: £50 by J. Green on November 26, 1812; 110/ 7s 10d by W. W. Viney & J. Hanson on June 5, 1813; 203/ 9s 2d by 200 Ex Bill d^c 3 Feb at 3 Prem & Bro on June 7, 1813; 1,227/ 10s 1d by 1200 do “22 Dec at do & do on June 7, 1813 (Cochran and Beckett, “Byron’s Finance,” 3). “[The] sums [received on June 5 and 7] are the deposit on the Rochdale tithes [of the original £1,500], returned with interest” (Cochran and Beckett, “Byron’s Finance” 3n1).

¹⁸³ According to Cochran and Beckett in “Byron’s Finances,” “[Byron] then cancel[led] in November, £3,000 travel expenses. This was the proposed trip which went wrong when he fell for Augusta!” (16).

Wedderburn Webster in October; £800 was paid to Scrope Davies; £1,275 was paid to William Fletcher, Byron's valet, probably for maintenance bills; and 117*l* 4*s* 6*d* was paid to Own Mealey for estate expenses (Beckett *Newstead* 186). "Since the Rochdale tithe money was repaid with interest (£1,541)" on June 5-7, 1813, as Beckett notes, "this left a credit balance of about £2,500" in the second half of 1813 (*Newstead* 186).

Claughton's last two installments of £5,000 and £3,000 were paid during the first six months in 1814. Out of these last payments, "£4,804 was diverted to repaying Byron's debts to Scrope Davies," and "[t]he £3,000 paid in May 1814 went directly to Augusta (or, strictly speaking, to her husband)" (Beckett *Newstead* 187).¹⁸⁴ In a letter to Hobhouse written on January 16, 1815, Byron also accounted for some of the disbursements he made from Claughton's deposit and added, "the rest was swallowed up by duns—necessities—luxuries—fooleries—jewelleries—'whores and fiddlers'" (*BLJ* 4: 260). According to Beckett, "The balance on the account by the end of July 1814 was approximately £200" (*Newstead* 187).

After "releas[ing] Scrope Davies [on March 27, 1814] from a liability contracted on his behalf" by paying £ 4,804 (Doris Moore 197), Byron dined with him celebrating the final payment of his debts which had stood since 1809 when "Davies . . . had borrowed from usurers to furnish cash for Byron's first trip around in 1809" (*BLJ* 3: 255n1). Byron writes in his journal entry of March 28, 1814: "Yesterday paid him [Davies] four thousand eight hundred pounds, a debt of some standing, and which I

¹⁸⁴ For the detailed list of the payments, also see Appendix B at the end of this dissertation. Doris Moore also provides detailed, but somewhat different, accounts of the expenditures from Claughton's deposit (202-03).

wished to have paid before. My mind is much relieved by the removal of that *debit*” (*BLJ* 3: 255).¹⁸⁵ On the same day (March 28), Byron moved into his new place on the ground floor of Albany House in Piccadilly. It is certain that Claughton’s money had released Byron from much of his mental distress and provided him with good financial sources to pay some of his long-standing debts and a means to find a new residence.

However, it is certain that Byron was still in desperate need of money. Before the middle of 1814, most of Claughton’s deposit in Byron’s account at Hoare’s was used up. Furthermore, although Byron paid a large sum of debts with Claughton’s deposit, there were still other remaining debts including the following ones, which Byron recounted in January 1815 to Hobhouse:

My debts can hardly be less than thirty thousand—there is *six thousand* charged on N[ewstead] to a Mr. Sawbridge—a *thousand*—to Mrs. B[yron] at Nott[ingha]m—a *Jew debt* of which the interest must be more than the principal—& of which H[anson] must get an amount from *Thomas*—another Jew debt—six *hundred* prin[cipa]l—and no interest . . . &c. &c. (*BLJ* 4: 259)

We do not know all the details of the debts that Byron includes in the thirty thousand pounds in this letter, but we do know the following details: “The Sawbridge debt was £6,200; debts we can identify, including Thomas, amounted to £5,800; and to Mrs.

¹⁸⁵ The payment was cashed on March 28 from Byron’s account at Hoare’s (Cochran and Beckett, “Byron’s Finances” 6).

Byron he owed further £1,000—a total of £13,000,” as Beckett states (*Newstead* 187).¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, out of the £28,000 of Claughton’s deposit, Byron was supposed to return £3,000 to Claughton, which brings Byron’s total debt to £16,000 in early 1815.¹⁸⁷

The above accounts reveal at least part of Byron’s financial situation during the time when he would reject his publisher’s offer of financial rewards of £1,575 for the three poems, *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, and *Corsair*.¹⁸⁸ Obviously, Byron did not have any other significant source of income during this period except Claughton’s deposit and some interest from Rochdale, but it is certain that the former had greatly alleviated his psychological burden and contributed much to Byron’s circumstantial rejection of the copyright money for his poems. In other words, even though Byron had been worried about his increasing debts, until the time when Hanson finally reported the failure of the sale in late July or in early August, Byron also had thought that most of his apprehension about the enormous debts could be cleared away sooner or later with the completion of the sale of Newstead. Therefore, in a letter to Annabella Milbanke dated December 14, 1814, Byron expressed his expectation of large sum of money from the sale:

¹⁸⁶ The Sawbridge debts include two loans that Hanson borrowed from Colonel Wanley Sawbridge on behalf of Byron. The loan was delayed and made in two installments. The first loan was £2,000 in 1809, and the second one was £4,000 paid in 1810. For these loans, see Doris More 106, 126. Half of this money was used to pay some of Byron’s debts. The principal loan of £6,000, but Byron paid £6,656 with interest to Wildman after the sale of Newstead (Beckett, *Newstead* 229).

¹⁸⁷ Beckett insists that Byron was exaggerating when he told the total sum of his debts to Hobhouse (*Newstead* 188).

¹⁸⁸ As mentioned, Byron gave the copyright of the first poem to Dallas and received the copyright money for the last two poems in the end.

The sale of N[ewstea]d would have liquidated all my debts and left us an immediate surplus sufficient for most of our present exigencies and even wishes—as it is “I am cabined—cribbed”—at least for the present—I should not have cared for the limitation of income—so much as the *debts*—they have however been lessened during the last year—and might perhaps have been done away—were it not that there were others whom—it was in some instances my duty—and in other my inclination—to assist—but even this would not have signified—had my purchaser kept to his bargain—though poor devil—I can’t blame him—since his forfeiture is heavy enough. (*BLJ* 4: 242)

However, all the hopes of getting a large sum of money and thereby paying off his debts vanished. Thus, Byron needed to find another source of income from this point. And Murray’s offer of copyright money of £700 for his new poem, *Lara*, was certainly too timely for Byron to resist, although it was not an enormous sum considering Byron’s usual expenditures.

Andrew Bennett agrees with Marchand’s assessment that the first copyright money Byron had ever accepted from Murray was for *Lara*, published on August 6, 1814 (189).¹⁸⁹ However, according to Cochran, the first copyright money Byron received from his publisher was not for *Lara* but for *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, the

¹⁸⁹ See *Biography* 1: 467 for Marchand’s argument.

first edition of which was published on April 1, 1814.¹⁹⁰ Regarding the copyright money of the *Ode*, Cochran notes as follows:

Murray paid [Byron] a thousand guineas, which he accepted without demur. On May 24th 1814 he wrote to John Murray: “The note at 2 months paid to my account at Messrs Hoares (Fleet Street) will do very well” (*BLJ* 4: 117). The evidence that [Byron] received payments comes, as the quotation suggests, not from the Murray Archive this time, but from the records of Hoare’s Bank, still (in 2011) in Fleet Street, where the complete records of this time there as a client is kept. On 28th July 1814 it records ‘on Brooks & C^o / 1050.’ Brooks, Son and Dixon, of 52 Chancery Lane, were Murray’s bankers, and the £1,050 (1,000 guineas) is a cheque from Murray, post-dated from 14th May—as the letter just quoted suggest[s]. The cheque is for the copyright of the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*.¹⁹¹

Cochran convincingly argues that Byron finally succumbed to the temptation of the copyright money for his own poems by receiving the first copyright money of 1,000 guineas from Murray for *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, so Marchand’s and Bennet’s assertions regarding the first poem for which Byron received copyright money should be

¹⁹⁰ Adding one more stanza (stanza 5) to the first two editions so as to avoid stamp duty, Murray published the third edition on Wednesday, April 20, 1814 (Nicholson, “Napoleon’s” 69). For a more detailed publication history of *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, see Andrew Nicholson’s “Napoleon’s ‘last act’ and Byron’s Ode.”

¹⁹¹ Quotation from personal email on June 22, 2011 (Cochran, “Ode”). For this email, Cochran is quoting his own article, “Did Byron Take Money for His Early Poems?” (73-74).

reconsidered. Moreover, it is very interesting to note that Byron began writing *Lara* on May 14, the same date he received the copyright money for the *Ode* in his bank account, which suggests a possible financial motivation in writing *Lara*.

It is certain that Byron spent most of the money he had earned from Claughton by this time because the balance in the account at Hoare's in July 1814 was approximately £200, if Beckett's reading of the account is correct.¹⁹² Byron sent the finished draft of *Lara* to Murray on June 27, 1814, and we can assume that Murray probably offered the copyright money for the poem sometime in July or August when Byron was deeply preoccupied with getting more money after the failed sale of Newstead.

"Returning to town [from Cambridge] on July 7, 1814, Byron was greeted by the unwelcome news that Claughton had defaulted on the Newstead purchase," as Benita Eisler states (430). Therefore, during the third week of July, Byron was anxiously waiting for [John] Hanson's final report on the issue, sending several letters to his son Charles Hanson during the absence of his father (*BLJ* 4: 140-41, 148). His preoccupation with this issue is expressed in the following letter sent to Hanson on July 19, 1814:

So much am I convinced that he [Claughton] is a man of neither property nor credit. He has never *once* kept his word since the sale was concluded, and, at all events, I will do any thing to be rid of him . . . *You* will cling and cling to the fallacious hope of the fulfillment, already shewn to be so,

¹⁹² That is to say, the copyright money of 1,000 guineas probably had been withdrawn already, which requires further investigation of where the money was spent.

till I am ruined entirely. . . . Pray think of Rochdale; it is the delay which drive me mad. I declare to God I would rather have but ten thousand pounds clear and out of debt, than drag on the cursed existence of expectation, and disappointment, which I have endured for these last 6 years, for 6 months longer, though a million came at the end of them. (qtd. in Doris Moore 206)

Thus, by the time Byron was offered the copyright money for *Lara*, he certainly knew that he had to abandon the expectation of getting a large amount of the remnant money from Claughton because “Claughton was induced by Hanson . . . to agree to forfeit £25,000 [out of £28,000]” by August 3, 1814 (Doris Moore 206).¹⁹³ That is to say, there was ample reason for Byron to accept the financial reward of £700 for the poem he recently sent to Murray, *Lara*, which eventually turned out to be another success, selling out six thousand copies immediately.¹⁹⁴ Byron finally received the £700 on August 5, 1814.

As a matter of fact, however, about ten days after receiving the 1,000 guineas for *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, Byron took another 1,000 guineas on May 24, 1814, from Murray for *The Giaour* and *Bride of Abydos*, the copyright money that Byron had

¹⁹³ For Byron’s response (dated August 3, 1814) to Hanson’s letter reporting the final legal procedure on the matter of Claughton’s forfeiture, see *BLJ* 4: 150. According to Cochran, “Byron signed the papers which freed Claughton from his contract” with the forfeiture of his down payment on August 20, 1814 (Review of *Byron and Newstead* 5n19). In February 1815, there was a renewed hope of selling Newstead Abbey to Claughton, but it failed again (*BLJ* 4: 264-65).

¹⁹⁴ For the instant success of *Lara*, see *LJM* 103.

rejected in the previous year.¹⁹⁵ This clearly reveals how badly Byron was in need of money during this period, even to the point of abandoning his aristocratic pride. As a result, Byron had already received the copyright money for the three poems in May 1814, though most Byron scholars have argued otherwise. Scholars should agree, however, that it would be much more accurate to consider Byron's decisions on whether he would accept copyright money for his poems (or not) in light of his changing financial conditions rather than some of his statements, such as "I never will receive money for my writings" (written to Dallas), which cannot be taken at face value.

Indeed, Byron's initial opposition to receiving any financial rewards from writing poetry can also be found in his censure against Sir Walter Scott. During the British Romantic and Victorian periods, Scott was especially famous for his Waverly novels, including *Waverly* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1817), *Ivanhoe* (1819), and others. However, Scott was, in effect, known at first for his poems such as *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), *Rokeby* (1812), and so on. And many of his poems were published in expensive quarto editions which sold a great number of copies within several months of their initial appearances.¹⁹⁶ Felluga provides detailed accounts of the sales figures of these poems:

¹⁹⁵ On May 24, 1814, Murray sent "a note payable in Two months for the 1000 G^s" for these two poems (*LJM* 95-96), and on the same day Byron replied to Murray that the note was paid to his account (*BLJ* 4: 117).

¹⁹⁶ For example, as stated in chapter 2 of this dissertation, *The Lady of the Lake* and *Rokeby* were published in quartos at 42 shillings (*RNRP* 200). Moreover, many of these poems achieved astounding commercial success; *Rokeby*, for example, sold 10,000 copies in the first three months (Lockhart 57). Sales figures for some of Scott's other novels are as follows: "Waverly: first edition (1,000) sold in five

The Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805), for example, sold 15,050 copies in three years, with the initial quarto edition selling at twenty-five shillings; *Marmion* (1808) sold 11,000 copies in its first year, with its initial quarto edition costing thirty-one shillings sixpence; and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) managed to sell 20,300 copies in its first year, with the initial quarto edition selling at the previously unheard of price of two guineas or forty-two shillings. (63)

Scott, as St Clair states, “sold more novels than all the other novelists of the time put together” (*RNRP* 221), and his poems also earned him enormous amounts of copyright money. For instance, he received £700 for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, 1,000 guineas for *Marmion*, 2,000 guineas for *The lady of the Lake*, and 3,000 guineas for *Rokeby* (Sutherland 105, 120, 144, and 170).¹⁹⁷

The two poets, Scott and Byron, became very close after they had first met on April 7, 1815 (Blann 7). In a letter to Murray dated April 23, 1820, Byron expresses his affection towards Scott by writing, “My Love to Scott . . . he is the first poet titled for his talent—in Britain” (*BLJ* 7: 83). Byron later became obsessed with reading Scott’s fiction,

weeks; total of 6,000 in six months. 11,000 copies in collected editions of Scott’s romances, 1820-29. 40,000 copies in new edition, 1829-ca.1836”; *The Antiquary*, 6,000 copies in first six days; *Rob Roy*, 10,000 copies in fortnight (Altic 383). Regarding Scott’s successful literary career, Felluga states, “Scott managed to turn the rhetoric of nervous sensibility and disease completely around, claiming for himself and for his metrical romances a rhetoric of manly and invigorating health” (33). The initial quarto editions were subsequently published in smaller editions “build[ing] public taste for poetry,” as Chandler argues, and Byron capitalized on this (*England* 378).

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Moore’s *Lalla Rookh* (1817) also “enjoyed a degree of success in the literary marketplace surpassed only perhaps by the very best-selling volumes of poetry of Scott and Byron and earned Moore an advance in the extraordinary sum of 3,000 pounds” (Chandler *England* 268). Therefore, Byron, in a sense, had enough reasons to complain about Murray’s offer of copyright money of his poems in his later literary career, which also strongly suggests his professional identity as a paid writer.

as Chandler highlights (*England* 375), even to the point of exaggerating that he “had read all the others forty times” when he was asking Murray to send him *Waverly*, *Guy Mannering*, and *The Antiquary* in a letter dated March 1, 1821 (*BLJ* 8: 88). Byron also dedicated *Cain* to Scott in 1821.

Nevertheless, Byron’s early attack on Scott, especially on his commercial attitude towards his poems, was fierce, as we can easily see from the following excerpts from *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809):

The golden-crested haughty Marmion,
Now forging scrolls, now foremost in the fight,
Not quite a felon, yet but half a knight,
The gibbet or the field prepar’d to grace;
A mighty mixture of the great and base.
And think’st thou, Scott! by vain conceit perchance,
On public taste to foist thy stale romance,
Though Murray with his Miller may combine
To yield thy muse just half-a-crown per line?
No! when the sons of song descend to trade,
Their bays are sear, their former laurels fade.
Let such forego the poet’s sacred name,
Who rack their brains for lucre, not for fame:
Still for stern Mammon may they toil in vain!
And sadly gaze on gold they cannot gain!

Such be their meed, such still the just reward
 Of prostituted muse and hireling bard!
 For this we spurn Apollo's venal son,
 And bid a long 'good night to Marmion.' (lines 166-84)

Here, treating Scott as "Apollo's venal son," Byron is directly attacking Scott's commercial attitude towards his poetry, which yielded him a large fortune.¹⁹⁸ Felluga points out that Scott had written his poems in order to make money from them in his early literary period, quoting Scott's 1812 letter to Crabbe, in which Scott says, "I wrote *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* for the purpose of buying a new horse for the Volunteer Cavalry" (qtd. in 63). In other words, a commercial motive played an important role in the creation of a great literary feat. In this light, "Scott had very good financial reasons for turning to a feudal social structure and morality that supported the gentry and the status quo—only the upper classes were initially able to buy his books" (Felluga 63).

Scott's case, however, is not a unique example in the literary history. Even Wordsworth, another great Romantic poet, confessed his financial motive in writing *Lyrical Ballads* (1798)—he wanted a financial source for his journey to Germany. After reading Southey's review of *Lyrical Ballads* in the October 1798 issue of *Critical Review* some ten months later in the summer of 1799, Wordsworth writes to his sister Dorothy: "Southey's review I have seen. He knew that I published those poems for money and money alone. He knew that money was of importance to me" (qtd. in Gamer

¹⁹⁸ Despite his commercial success, Scott became penniless during the banking crisis in the mid 1820s from the collapse of the Ballantyne printing business where he had invested a large sum of money. He lost "the tune of some £127,000 (millions in today's terms)" (Humphrey 33).

and Porter 26).¹⁹⁹ Likewise, Byron could not be a perpetual exception to taking a professional identity as a writer receiving financial rewards from his poems, and this is especially so when we consider his financial difficulties. Receiving copyright money from his poems, however, could not be an ultimate solution to straighten out Byron's financial trouble.

By 1815, Byron's hopeless financial situation might have seemed much better than it had been in the previous years, at least psychologically. As shown above, Byron's financial condition was getting worse, so he had to find a dependable source he could use at least to relieve his mental distress, not to mention his increasing debts, without adding any more to the existing sum. Following his father's example, he chose marriage as the solution. Byron wrote in his journal of January 16, 1814: "A wife would be my salvation" (*BLJ* 3: 241). He writes in the same journal entry that he was "getting rather into admiration of [Lady Juliana Annesley?] the youngest sister of [Lady F. Webster]." This remark could, of course, mean that he really wanted to fall in love with one woman and settle down as a married man. But it is highly unlikely that this is at all what he meant because in the same journal he writes of marriage as a "business" that should "be arranged between papa and [himself]" (*BLJ* 3: 241). In addition, he confesses, "[b]ut if I love, I shall be jealous;—and for that reason I will not be in love" (*BLJ* 3: 241). What is important here is that he finally came to think about the possibility of getting married, but at the same time, we cannot completely ignore the financial benefits that he could

¹⁹⁹ Not a few poets in the Romantic period became professional paid writers, to whom the changing literary tradition is largely attributed. In other words, "the collapse of patronage system" led a number of Romantic poets to find a means for sustenance in the rising mass-market economy (Felluga 64).

gain from the marriage contract.

Later in the same year, Byron was finally engaged to Annabella Milbanke, who Byron surely thought would be a salvation to his financial troubles.²⁰⁰ Although Byron expresses his temporary passion for Annabella in several letters written in late 1814 before their marriage,²⁰¹ Byron could hardly be considered in love with her when he refused to have a proper wedding ceremony and “the ring which [Byron] placed on her finger was the one found in the garden at Newstead, his mother’s wedding ring. The heavy gold band, made for the chubby digit of Mrs. Byron, was too big for the delicate finger of Miss Milbanke” (*Biography* 2: 506). Throughout this wedding ceremony, “[Lady Noel, Annabella’s mother,] was on the verge of hysterics, for she had inner misgivings about this son-in-law who would have no proper wedding” (*Biography* 2: 506), and she said “Neither before or *since* Marriage has he made any present to Lady B., not even the *common one* of a diamond Hoop ring” (qtd. in *Biography* 2: 506). More importantly, “Lord Byron frankly confessed to his companion that he was not in love with his intended bride” (qtd. in *Biography* 2: 503).

On the contrary, it is an undeniable fact that he was much interested in his future bride’s current financial status, her future inheritance, and the marriage dowry. In a letter dated September 28, 1814, ten days from the date when Byron received Annabella’s acceptance letter, Byron discussed Annabella’s financial condition with Hanson: “Miss

²⁰⁰ Byron sent a tentative proposal to Annabella on September 9, 1814, and received her letter of acceptance several days later on September 18 (*BLJ* 4: 169-70, 175).

²⁰¹ For example, Byron frequently began his letters to Annabella with “Dearest” or “My Love.” These letters were written in the third quarter of 1814 before his marriage and can be found in vol. 4 of *BLJ*.

M[ilbanke] will actually be Baroness Noel and inherit certain property with that title from her father's estates and she will have Seaham & and all that he can give her" (*BLJ* 5: 187). Eisler succinctly summarizes what Byron would gain from his marriage: "His bride's financial prospects were brighter than Byron had supposed: Besides a certain £20,000, her Uncle Wentworth now declared Annabella by will to be his heiress, going over to Durham expressly to inform Hoar of his intent" (444).²⁰²

Byron's expectations might have been hopeful a few months before and after the wedding regarding the financial gain from his marriage. Even before getting married to Annabella, Byron had been keenly aware of the future inheritance that he would receive from the Noel family through this marriage, some of which, in effect, came much later in January 1822 when Lady Noel died.²⁰³ Cochran and Beckett provide a clear summary regarding the complicated circumstances of Byron's marriage settlement, which gives us a better understanding of Byron's financial reality at this time, especially in relation to Lady Byron's marriage dowry:

Sir Ralph Milbanke owed Byron £20,000 on account of the marriage settlement. Annabella's portion was £16,000 by the terms of her parents' marriage settlement, and Sir Ralph agreed to supplement this by £4,000 in view of the generous settlement Byron proposed to make on Annabella.

²⁰² See also *BLJ* 4: 229-30 for Byron's letter to Lady Melbourne of November 6, 1814, talking about Annabella's financial prospects. "Lady Byron's uncle lord Wentworth had died on April 17. The bulk of his property went to his sister Lady Milbanke. Henceforth she and Sir Ralph Milbanke took the name of Noel by the terms of the will," as Marchand states (*BLJ* 4: 288n2).

²⁰³ According to the terms of the separation settlement, "the income from the Wentworth estates, which Lady Noel had inherited, estimated at £10,000 a year (but actually less than £7,000) was to be divided by arbitrators at Lady Noel's death, one to be appointed by each party" (*BLJ* 9: 105n1).

The £20,000, together with £60,000 from Byron (to be raised from the sale of Newstead) was to go to trustees for Lady Byron's potential jointure and the portions of any younger children. The losses incurred from bankruptcies by Durham and Sunderland banks left Annabella's family short of ready cash. Sir Ralph's finances were such that he could afford only £6,200, leaving £13,800 secured on Halnaby at 5 per cent interest. Unfortunately he did not pay the £6,200 either, but Byron was probably more annoyed by the absence of the £690 interest on the £13,800 from which Lady Byron's pin money was due to be paid (Byron paid this in January 1816). A complicated arrangement was made by which Sir James Bland Burges and Lord Henley, as Noel trustees, would borrow on mortgage from Lord Melbourne and advance it to Byron. There was difficulty, however, on raising a mortgage on an entailed estate. . . . Byron had still not received the £6,000 he expected from Sir Ralph by the end of 1815. Byron's irritation with his in-laws is not surprising under the circumstances, but in December 1815, with bailiffs at the door, Hanson negotiated a deal to release this £6,200 to Byron, which is why his finances take a turn for the better at this juncture, even if only £5,200 appears in the Hoare's credits. This added significantly to Byron's financial anxieties and to his unpredictable temper at the time of his separation from Annabella. ("Byron's Finances" 15-16)²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ See Beckett also concerning Annabella's and her family's property (*Newstead* 192-93) and regarding

Even though Byron did not receive the entire marriage dowry promised by Lady Byron's father and Byron's financial expectations did not come true in reality during his marriage, it is yet true that the settlement provided Byron with some mental relief in the early part of his marriage, allowing him to think again of paying off his long-standing debts. In February 1815, not long after the wedding, Byron revealed his financial intentions regarding the marriage. In a letter to Hobhouse dated February 11, 1815, Byron writes: "The trustees for Lady B[Byron] are only concerned for her settlement £60000—which will be secured on mortgage [*sic*] of the estate—and the rest of course to me—and I propose to pay all debts" (*BLJ* 4: 270). Clearly, Byron's marriage was a sort of business contract by which to gain financial resources, and this kind of marriage could hardly last long.

In considering Byron's financial conditions early in his marriage, we should also note that he did not receive any copyright money from his poems during this period. This is, of course, partly because he did not publish any poems except *Hebrew Melodies*, published in April 1815 by Braham and Nathan and later in May by Murray.²⁰⁵ Ten thousand copies of *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern*, the edition published by Braham and Nathan, were sold despite its expensive price of one guinea, and 6,000 copies of *Hebrew Melodies*, the edition published by Murray, were sold out quickly. However, Byron did not receive any money for this commercially successful

the marriage settlement (*Newstead* 195).

²⁰⁵ Byron had begun writing *Hebrew Melodies* in October 1814 (*BLJ* 4: 7), with lyrics composed by Isaac Nathan and with John Braham as the tenor. "*A Selection of Hebrew Melodies* [*Ancient and Modern*]" was published by Nathan on Wednesday 5 April 1815 . . . and towards the end of May JM [John Murray] published *Hebrew Melodies*" (*LJM* 126). About Nathan, see (*BLJ* 4: 187n1). Byron did begin writing *Siege of Corinth* (in October) and *Parisina* (in November) while married in 1815 (*BLJ* 4: 7-8).

work. Considering the contents of the letter to Hobhouse written on January 26, 1815, in the month of his wedding, in which he states that his first object is to be out of “debts [that] can hardly be less than thirty thousand” (*BLJ* 4: 259), we can assume that Byron might have felt more secure in his financial prospects at the beginning of his marriage.

However, this sort of optimistic view did not last long, and Byron’s financial condition worsened towards the end of 1815. This desperate financial situation continued into the next year without showing any sign of improvement. The promised marriage dowry kept being delayed, so it could not provide any immediate financial relief to Byron, and another attempt to sell Newstead and Rochdale failed at the end of July 1815.²⁰⁶ Byron had no dependable financial resources on which to rely.

Furthermore, he experienced such an affront from the bailiffs later in November, as mentioned earlier, that he must have had no other choice but to begin receiving money again from his poems. At last, he received 1,000 guineas for *Siege of Corinth and Parsina* on March 29, 1816, which was the first copyright money he received since August 5, 1814, when he had taken £700 for *Lara*. A few days later on April 4, Byron also put his library up for auction to pay his pressing debts.²⁰⁷ No matter how hard he tried to maintain his aristocratic dignity with regards to the profits from his poems, Byron gradually had to succumb to his financial needs during his literary career in

²⁰⁶ For this auction, see *Biography* 2: 539-40 and Beckett, *Newstead* 203. “[T]he bona fide bidding [for Newstead] was only 79,000 guineas (£82,950),” and “Rochdale was withdrawn at £16,000” (Beckett, *Newstead* 203).

²⁰⁷ According to Cochran, “[t]he sale fetched a total of £723.12s. 6d: £273.12s. 6d more than the books had been valued at the previous year” (“Byron’s Library” 1). There were three auction sales for Byron’s books respectively in 1813, 1816, and 1827. For more detailed accounts about these sales, see Cochran’s “Byron’s Library.”

England.

5.2. Byron Abroad: Becoming a Professional Poet Writing for Money

After having left England, Byron's attitude towards receiving copyright money took a different turn. The profits from his writings came to be not a small portion of his usual income, and Byron also considered them significant. By the time Byron left England on April 25, 1816, he had received £3,850 from Murray in total for the copyrights of his five books of poems.²⁰⁸ While Byron was out of England, however, the total sum of the copyright money that Byron earned from his writings amounted to £11,580. As a result, instead of seeing the Byron who had given the copyright money for some of his poems to his cousin or hesitated to take any financial rewards from his pen, we see a new Byron who negotiated like a businessman with his publisher for more money in return for the right to publish his writings in the literary market. Nevertheless, Byron sometimes tried not to reveal his financial motives in writing poetry at all. For example, he defines poetry, in a letter to Moore in July 1821, as "the expression of *excited passion* and that there is no such thing as a life of passion any more than a continuous earthquake, or an eternal fever (*BLJ* 8: 146). In contrast, there are a great number of letters in which Byron talks about money issues in connection with his writings, so it becomes clear that he did not treat his poetry simply as the outlet for his

²⁰⁸ These books are *The Giaour*, *Bride of Abydos*, *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, *Lara*, and *Siege of Corinth & Parsina*. For the amounts of copyright money and the dates when Byron received them, see Appendix A at the end of this dissertation. Cochran also points out this amount in "Did Byron Take Money for His Early Poems?" (76).

excited passion without taking any financial rewards into account. Therefore, we should think of Byron as a professional writer no matter how much he tried not to assume such an identity in some letters, and his writings could surely be considered “commodified texts,” as defined by Felluga (94). It is also true that many poems written while Byron was out of England bear an unavoidably commercial intent even from their early stages of composition.

The first poem on which Byron began to work after leaving England was the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. No specific reason can be found concerning Byron's decision to return to this poem as the first literary work on which he would work abroad. Nonetheless, it is not difficult to guess at least some possible reasons for the decision. As is widely known, it was *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* that brought enormous fame and popularity to Byron, making him an unmatched literary celebrity in 1812. After this, Byron published seven more books of poems, all of which achieved notable commercial success in the literary market. Although the first quarto-sized edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was too expensive for the traditional book buyers to own, smaller and cheaper editions were quickly available. We can apprehend the great success of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, considering what St Clair states:

We have no exact record for total production of *Childe Harold*, Cantos 1 and 2, but I estimate 15000 to 20000 before 1818, putting the volume in the same range as *The Corsair*. Although it was more than twice as expensive, this poem sold very briskly from 1812 right through till 1816 when Canto 3 was published, after which interest falls away. (“Impact” 7)

In other words, even by the time Byron left England, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was still sought after by public readers, and the price of it was not significantly reduced yet, judging from Murray's advertisement for Byron's works inserted at the end of *Hebrew Melodies* (1815): An octavo-sized ninth edition of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was still priced at 12 shillings, while other works like *The Giaour* (fourteenth edition), *The Bride of Abydos* (tenth edition), *The Corsair* (ninth edition), *Lara* (fourth edition), and *Hebrew Melodies* were all priced at 5s 6d in 1815.²⁰⁹

It is certain that public readers' unceasing interest in and their desire to read the next canto(s) of the best-selling poem were not yet extinct. Jerome Christensen also points to this as a significant part of Byron's strength in a commercial society: "Seriality is of great consequence to Lord Byron's poetic career; it is both driving force and subject for meditation in *Childe Harold*. . . . Seriality was the engine driving Byromania as that cultural and commercial phenomenon was collaboratively managed by Byron and his publisher, John Murray" (5). It is far easier to appeal to an existing readership than to create a new group by introducing a new work, even if Byron's name itself had an established brand value, as Mason argues.²¹⁰ In this respect, Byron's decision to resume his literary career away from England with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was surely a wise one. Moreover, his renewed status as a traveler to foreign lands could also gain

²⁰⁹ The copy that I have consulted is available on-line at *Internet Archive*.

²¹⁰ About Byron's name as a commercial brand identity, see Mason's "Building Brand Byron: Early-Nineteenth-Century Advertising and Marketing of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*." Pointing out the fact that "the advertising expenditures for the first edition came to only £19 13s. 6d.," Mason argues, "What Murray and Byron seem to have grasped in 1812, and what is not recognized as a central tenet of branding theory, is that publicity is much more effective than direct advertising for establishing a brand name" (426).

more attention from the potential buyers of new canto(s) of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, as the earlier cantos of the poem had appealed to those who were curious about the world outside England.

Despite the continuing demand for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron's popularity as a "fascinating male hero" (Elfenbein 67) was decreasing among the female readers "who made Byron's fame so remarkable" (McDayter 3). This is likely due to the negative effect of the unfavorable public responses to his separation from Lady Byron. Byron signed the deed of separation on April 21, 1816, and instantly left England. But even before their official separation, "some rumors were invented" and circulated about Lord and Lady Byron's pending divorce (Eisler 494), including an adulterous affair with a beautiful Irish actress and star of Drury Lane, Mrs. Mardyn" (494), an incestuous relationship with his half-sister, Augusta (497), and the practice of "heterosexual sodomy within the marriage" (500).

As Susan Wolfson points out, "[t]he Separation was a crisis not just for Lord and Lady Byron, but also for Lord Byron and his public. Anti-Byronists, freshly outraged, competed with defenses of college friends, brother poets, and Whig allies" (219). The separation also became the topic of public derision in some famous engravers' caricatures. For example, George Cruikshank's caricature engraving, "*Fare Thee Well*"-*Lord Byron Leaving England* (1816), ridicules Byron as leaving England by boat surrounded by three women.²¹¹ Isaac Robert Cruikshank also caricatures Byron's

²¹¹ In this caricature engraving, Cruikshank included several lines from Byron's "Fare Thee Well" as being spoken out of Byron's own mouth. Embraced by three women, Byron is described as waving his hat to a woman on land, who is assumed to be Lady Byron.

farewell to England in “The Separation, a Sketch from the Private Life of Lord Iron,” which “shows Byron in the act of abandoning his wife and child, supposedly to run off with the well-known actress Charlotte Mardyn” (Mole, “Ways of Seeing Byron” 73). Thus, with this in mind, Byron could expect his ruined fame to be recovered at least to a certain degree by putting out a continuation of the work that had brought about a favorable sensation in the literary world. Even though there might have been other possible reasons for Byron’s decision to continue writing *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* in the first place, it is certain that recovering his ruined fame and achieving commercial success could not have been out of consideration.

Indeed, Murray was already negotiating with Byron over the copyright money for his first work written abroad about two months prior to the publication of the third canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (published on November 18, 1816). In a letter dated September 20, 1816, Murray proposes 1,500 guineas for the two poems delivered by Percy Shelley (*LJM* 175, 178), which were the third canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* and *The Prisoner of Chillon* (published on December 5, 1816). For the first one, Murray not only offered 1,000 guineas but also promised an additional £500 which “should be paid in case of the sale of a certain number to be fixed by Murray himself,” as Byron repeats to Kinnaid (*BLJ* 5: 106). Moreover, Byron had good reasons not to refuse Murray’s offers of the copyright money during this period. The only other solution to Byron’s financial troubles after leaving England was to sell the Newstead and Rochdale estates. However, as Beckett notes, “[b]y November 1816 Byron realized that there was not much chance of an immediate sale of Newstead, and in December he told

Kinnaird, ‘I suppose any sale of Newstead or Rochdale is hopeless for the present, but I wish it could be accomplished. I have it so much at heart . . . my great object is to pay my debts’” (*Newstead* 218).

Byron’s unhesitating demands for more money for his works after his departure from England can also be attributed, to a certain degree, to Murray’s overstated praise of Byron’s poetry. For instance, in the same letter in which he proposed a large sum of copyright money for the above works, Murray compliments Byron on *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* and says, “it appears to me that you have compleatly [*sic*] distanced every Modern Poet & when I read you I wander in the regions of Spencer [*sic*] Milton or Shakespeare—it really [*sic*] a Triumph over whole world which I do from my heart glory in, & congratulate you upon” (*LJM* 177). Accordingly, Murray expected another great success with the new canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, producing 12,000 copies in 1816 (*RNRP* 587). Nevertheless, different from Murray’s expectations, the third canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* did not go beyond its first edition (“Impact” 13), and Byron received only 1,000 guineas in January 1817.

After this time, Byron began to show a clearly different attitude towards the financial profits from his poems. For example, after receiving 1,500 guineas for *The Prisoner of Chillon* and the third canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, Byron began to take it for granted that he should receive proper rewards for his brainwork. He writes to Kinnaird in January 1817, “as to the produce of my *brain*—my M. S. . . . I have earned the sum—so will I expend it upon my own proper pleasancess—voyagings [*sic*] & what not—so that I request that you will not disburse a ducat save to *me* the owner” (*BLJ* 5:

161). Later in 1817, Byron received two more payments from Murray for the copyrights of *Manfred* (300 guineas on October 7) and *Lament of Tasso* (300 guineas on July 17).²¹²

At the end of 1817, a very important event happened to change Byron's financial status. Finally, on December 10, 1817, Byron received news from Hanson of the sale of the Newstead estate.²¹³ The Newstead estate was sold to Major Thomas Wildman for £94,500. Unlike Claughton who had failed to complete the transaction years ago, Wildman was a man of means and offered a reasonable price. Byron was also pleased to find that the estate was passing into reliable hands of his own acquaintance who had been at Harrow with him. What is noticeable in Byron's instant response to Hanson's letter apprising him of the sale of the estate was that "[t]he first step in the event of a satisfactory conclusion [would] be the liquidation of [his] debts" (*BLJ* 5: 278). In this letter, Byron enumerates his current debts in detail. Table 4 shows the expenditures of the income from the sale of the estate during 1817-19. The largest portion of the money from the sale was used to pay off a £60,000 loan for his marriage settlement, and the balance paid by Wildman to Byron was £22,568. Undoubtedly, the sale of the estate provided much needed financial relief to Byron from his enormous debts, although there were still other debts to take care of.

²¹² About the copyright payments of the two poems, see *BLJ* 5: 266. In effect, the paperwork for the sale of Newstead had already been completed on November 25, 1817, according to Beckett (*Newstead* 223). For a more detailed account of the sale of Newstead to Wildman, see Beckett, *Newstead* 222-23. Beckett also offers an estimated value of the Newstead estate (*Newstead* 223).

²¹³ For Byron's reply to this letter, see *BLJ* 5: 277-79.

Table 4 The Newstead Sale, 1817-19. (Beckett, *Newstead* 230).

Income	£
Newstead estate	94,500
Interest	3,472
Total	97,972
Expenditure	
Trustees of the marriage settlement	60,000
Repayment of loan to Byron, Dec. 1815	6,200
Sawbridge annuity	6,656
Baxter, Orme, and Thomas annuities	2,130
Total	74,986
Loss on interest	418
	75,404
Balance paid by Wildman	22,568

By the year of 1818, Byron's desire for money in general and copyright money in particular was much stronger than ever before. It is striking that in Byron's letters written in and after 1818, he began to express his extreme fondness for and desperate need of money quite openly and boldly.²¹⁴ Thus, the attitude towards money matters revealed in these letters is far different from Byron's former hesitancy to take copyright money or his willingness to give it to others as a gift. In 1818, Byron received 2,500 guineas for two poems, *Beppo* (published on February 28) and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, IV* (published on April 28). Murray paid 2,000 guineas for the latter, the

²¹⁴ For some examples, see (*BLJ* 6: 40-43, 77, 87, 91-92, 100-01). It is not difficult at all to find Byron's letters that mainly deal with money issues in *BLJ*, especially from volume 6 (1818-1819).

greatest amount of copyright money that Byron received during his entire literary career. In most of the copyright deals, Byron's acting agent was Kinnaird, Byron's banker friend and financial advisor. In one of the letters sent to Kinnaird in April when Byron was anxiously waiting for the copyright money for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, IV*, he emphasized that he "must have monies," including the copyright money from Murray (*BLJ* 6: 34).²¹⁵ Byron now took it for granted that he should receive proper financial rewards from his publisher for his poems. Therefore, we can assert with certainty that "Byron now dropped his amateur status," as David Erdman highlights ("Lord Byron" 190).

In the previous years, Byron had been more or less passive about taking money for his poems and never asked for higher amounts. In other words, it was his publisher, Murray, who had primarily decided how much Byron would receive for the copyright of each poem. However, from 1818 onward, Byron began to take an active role in his business deals with Murray, to the point that he would later state in a letter that he thinks "a bargain is in its very essence a *hostile* transaction" and "a bargain even between brethren—is a declaration of war" (*BLJ* 8: 153). For Byron, the process of publishing his poems through Murray (or any publisher) eventually included a bargain or a war for more money. And we can see the initial development of Byron's stance as a professional writer more clearly by examining his negotiations with Murray for the amount of copyright money for *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, IV*.

²¹⁵ During this time, Byron had some future financial resources that would soon add further financial relief and stability: the arrears from Newstead and his share of Noel's estate to be paid upon Lady Noel's death (*BLJ* 6: 34).

Byron began writing the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* on June 26, 1817, and finished the first draft of it on July 20 (*BLJ* 5: 9).²¹⁶ Rather than sending the finished draft to Murray immediately, however, Byron held it for almost half a year. This delay might have been necessary for more corrections and the notes that Hobhouse added to the draft for Byron.²¹⁷ In the mean time, Byron began his business deal directly with Murray. Apprising Murray of the completion of the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in a letter dated July 20, 1817, Byron hints that he would demand more copyright money than he was paid for the previous canto by emphasizing more work had been required for the new canto (*BLJ* 5: 253). In addition, Byron boldly asks Murray how much he would offer for the work, saying, “what do you bid? eh?” (*BLJ* 5: 253). To this letter, Murray sent a reply in which he states, “I shall readily present Fifteen Hundred Guineas for the Copyright” (*LJM* 239-40).

Considering that the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was not as successful as Murray had expected (Murray did not even have to pay the conditional 500 guineas to Byron), Murray's offer of 1,500 guineas for the new canto was actually a generous one. Byron, however, firmly rejected this offer and wrote in his response, “You offer 1500 guineas for the new Canto—I won't take it.—I ask two thousand five hundred guineas for it—which you will either give or not as you think proper “ (*BLJ* 5: 263). At

²¹⁶ In a letter of July 20, 1817, Byron states, “I have completed the 4th. and *ultimate* Canto of *childe Harold*” (*BLJ* 5: 253). Thus, I use the date of Byron's letter instead of Marchand's date for the completion of the poem in “Byron Chronology” in (*BLJ* 5: 9).

²¹⁷ Marchand comments on these notes: “Hobhouse wrote a number of notes for the fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, but they became so voluminous that [Murray] published most of them as a separate volume, *Historical illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (1818). Rather reluctantly, at Byron's insistence, Murray undertook the publication” (*BLJ* 5: 269n1).

the same time, as Bennett points out, “Byron calculates very precisely the value of his poems by comparing payments to other contemporary authors” (189). In the same letter to Murray, Byron writes, “if Mr. Eustace was to have had two thousand for a poem on education—if Mr. Moore is to have three thousand for Lallah &c.—if Mr. Campbell is to have three thousand for his prose on poetry—I don’t mean to disparage these gentlemen or their labours—but I ask the aforesaid price for mine” (*BLJ* 5: 263). Most importantly, Byron also states here, “You will tell me that their productions are considerably *longer*—very true—& when they shorten them—I will lengthen mine, and ask less” (*BLJ* 5: 263). In order to draw satisfactory bargain with Murray regarding the amount for the copyright money, Byron even suggests that he could lengthen his poem. This is another clear example of how literary meaning can be affected by economic logic.²¹⁸

Byron was full of confidence in his own poems and also believed that he was a lucrative asset to Murray. Anxiously waiting for the newly revised figure of 2,000 guineas in April 1818, Byron wrote a letter to Murray in which he included two poems. A stanza from one of the poems goes as follows:

Along thy sprucest bookselves shine
The works thou deemest most divine—
The “Art of Cookery” and Mine

My Murray.— (*BLJ* 6: 29)²¹⁹

²¹⁸ We can see another example of this relationship between economic considerations and literary meaning several years earlier when Murray asked Byron to write more stanzas in order to avoid paying the stamp duty for *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*.

²¹⁹ According to Cochran, Byron parodies “My Mary” by Cowper (“Poems about Poets” 10).

The “Art of Cookery” refers to Rundell’s *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, the most profitable title for Murray since 1806.²²⁰ We do not know to which of his own works Byron is referring here, but it is obvious that Byron thinks of his own literary product as a commodified item that yields profits to its publisher and creator.

Because Byron firmly believed that his poems had earned Murray considerable profits, it was natural for him to ask for the rightful rewards in return for his contribution to that financial success. Moreover, from a number of letters that Byron wrote during the months of April and May 1818, we can see that this was the very attitude that Byron had in mind when he was waiting for Murray’s copyright payment for the new canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*. Indeed, Byron emphasizes several times to Hobhouse that he “must have monies” for his work and constantly asks Kinnaid to “extract coin from . . . Murray” (*BLJ* 6: 37, 42). In June again, Byron urges Hobhouse to “make Murray pay” (*BLJ* 6: 55). However, Byron seems to have tried not to show such a mercenary attitude to Murray as he did to his friends—at least for now. Nevertheless, it is certain that Byron felt the delay of Murray’s copyright payment was intolerable when he did not receive any letter from Murray for almost two months from April 28 when the fourth canto of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* was published to June 25, 1818.²²¹ Byron finally received the copyright payment in July 1818.²²²

²²⁰ Rundell’s book was discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²²¹ In a letter of June 25, 1818 to Murray, Byron states, “Your last letter was dated April 28th” (*BLJ* 6:55).

²²² In a letter to Murray dated July 10, 1818, Byron informs him of receiving part of the copyright money for which he had been waiting. He writes, “I have received your letter & the credit from Morland’s &c. for whom I have also drawn upon you at sixty days sight for the remainder—according to your proposition” (*BLJ* 6:58).

Contradictorily, however, Byron still tried to refuse his status as a professional poet making money from his own poems, even at the height of his constant requests for money from his publisher: on June 1, 1818, Byron wrote to Moore that “[he] thought that Poetry was an *art*, or an *attribute*, and not a *profession*” (*BLJ* 6: 47). Byron reiterated that writing poetry was not a profession for him, but the idea of accepting copyright money was no longer something that Byron found disgraceful; instead, he kept asking for more money from his publisher. And while it was true that Byron was still a landed aristocrat at this point, he also knew that he would have to drop that status in the near future after the transaction of the sale of Newstead with Wildman was completed.

The sale of Newstead had been delayed for months, partly because of Hanson’s procrastination, and Byron was anxiously waiting for Hanson’s papers to complete the transaction. However, there was a conflict between them about where they should meet to sign the papers. Hanson wanted Byron to meet his messenger in Geneva, and Byron wanted Hanson to come to Venice where he was staying.²²³ This conflict caused a delay that lasted almost five months. Hanson finally arrived in Venice in November 1818 and returned with Byron’s signatures after a week.²²⁴

Coming back to England, Hanson took care of Byron’s debts with the sale-money of the Newstead estate, which left a total balance of £22,568 to be paid by Wildman to Byron. Even with the remaining balance from the sale of the estate, Byron could not liquidate all of his debts in 1819: there would be unavoidable debt of about

²²³ See (*BLJ* 6: 50, 74) for Byron’s and Hanson’s correspondence regarding this meeting.

²²⁴ On the relationship between Byron and Hanson during this period and the process of getting Byron’s signatures, see Beckett, *Newstead* 226-30.

£1,480, as we can see in Table 5. But sooner or later Byron's financial status would turn from debt to credit, and this must have freed him from the long-felt psychological burden of his debts.

Table 5 Lord Byron's Debts in 1819. (£.s.d.)

"Source: Murray Mss. The list was enclosed with a letter from Hanson to Kinnaird, 7 September 1819" (Beckett, *Newstead* 233).

	Debts	Paid	Unpaid
Annuities (principal)	3,270 0 0	3,270 0 0	--
Annuities (arrears)	1,961 12 10	1,451 1 11	
Bonds	4,704 10 0	4,342 18 3	403 15 3
Contract debts	18,540 8 7	8,555 3 4	10,450 12 8
	<u>28,476 11 5</u>	<u>17,622 3 6</u>	<u>10,854 7 11</u>
Sums available for debt payment		22,300 0 0	
Debts paid		<u>17,622 3 6</u>	
surplus		4,677 16 6	
Unpaid		<u>10,854 7 11</u>	
Deficit		6,176 11 8	
Debts commuted or renounced		6,158 9 11	
Payment available		4,677 16 6	
Unavoidable debts		<u>1,480 13 5</u>	

The Newstead transaction was completed in February 1819, which brought a significant change in Byron's status. In other words, after the sale of Newstead, as Felluga points out, Byron "was, in actuality, no longer an English landsman but both functionally and literally a tradesman" (89). Of course, the Rochdale estate in Lancashire

still belonged to Byron, but as Beckett states, “the Rochdale estate was yielding only about £60 a year in rents” (“Rochdale” 14).²²⁵ In addition, “[Byron’s] holdings in the parish were tied up in a legal case which moved slowly through the Common Law courts until Byron abandoned it in 1822” (“Rochdale” 13). Therefore, Byron did not have any significant financial source from lands after selling Newstead, which led him to pay even more attention to Murray’s copyright payments. Despite the significant reduction of Byron’s debts after the sale of Newstead, then, Byron was still asking for more money for his writings in 1819 for these various reasons.

Byron began writing the first canto of *Don Juan* on July 3, 1818, and sent the first draft of it to Murray in January 1819.²²⁶ However, the publication of the poem was delayed for months, primarily because of the poem’s immoral contents, and Byron was angry at Murray’s timidity. In one letter, Byron even expressed his displeasure with Murray, calling him a “chicken-hearted-silver-paper Stationer” (*BLJ* 6:205). Byron had already predicted that Murray would hesitate to publish *Don Juan*, so he wrote to Hobhouse in advance and said, “in that case you will take any Bookseller who bids best” (*BLJ* 6: 77). Zachary Leader comments on what Byron’s conception of writing is:

Writing [to Byron] is associated with a life of leisure, with riding, bathing, travelling, playing; it is a way of staving off the sort of boredom so amusingly depicted in the English cantos of *Don Juan*. That writing can

²²⁵ The 5th Baron Byron, the poet’s great uncle, “sold [the Rochdale properties] for a total of £2,370 [in the 1770s], leaving an income to the poet that was little more than £60 a year” (Beckett, “Rochdale” 14).

²²⁶ Byron completed the first canto of *Don Juan* on September 19, 1819; he began the second canto on December 13, 1819 (*BLJ* 6: xiii).

sometimes ‘show the way the wind blows . . . or bring ‘fame or profit’,
are secondary consideration at best. (87)²²⁷

As we can see from Byron’s letter to Hobhouse, however, “the poem itself . . . is invariably seen as commodity or product” that would bring him money (Zachary 87). At the same time, as Blann states, “[t]he more money [Byron] receive[d] from the sale of *Don Juan*, the more he could feel justified in his defiant rejection of [Murray’s] counsel” (64). Thus, though scholars have often upheld the image of Byron as a noble lord, a literary celebrity, and a hero of the Greek struggle for independence, they must yet acknowledge that Byron received, and was interested in receiving, the copyright money for his poems.

After sending Murray the first canto of *Don Juan*, Byron was anxiously waiting for the copyright money. In January 1819, Byron states to Kinnaid, “I care for little but the Copyright” and emphasizes that “Whatever brain-money—you get on my account from Murray—pray remit me—I will never consent to pay away what I *earn*—that is *mine*—& what I get by my brains—I will spend on my b----ks—as I have a tester or a testicle remaining” (*BLJ* 6: 92). In addition, in a letter to Hobhouse on January 25, Byron highlights that he should receive copyright money for *Don Juan* and says, “If you suppose I don’t mind the money—you are mistaken—I do mind it most damnably—it is the only thing I ever saw worth minding” (*BLJ* 6: 96). In the next month, Byron wrote to Kinnaid and said, “Tell Hobhouse that ‘Don Juan’ must be published—the loss of the copyright would break my heart—all that he says may be very fine & very true—but my

²²⁷ The last part of this quotation is from a letter to John Hunt written much later (*BLJ* 10: 123)

‘regard for my fee’ is the ruling passion and I must have it” (*BLJ* 6: 100). Later in May, after having been tired of Murray’s silence about the publication of *Don Juan*, Byron asked Kinnaird to find another publisher who was willing to publish his poem: “you transfer the M. S. to the highest bidder—I fix no price—but leave that to you and my friend H[obhouse]” (*BLJ* 6: 137). There are many other examples that show how strongly Byron wanted money from his poems in the letters written at the end of 1818 and the first half of 1819.

In these letters, we can also see Byron’s strong attachment to money itself. Byron often wrote to his friends as if he had newly realized the power of money during this period. For example, he writes to Kinnaird, “money is power—and pleasure—and I like it vastly” (*BLJ* 6: 87). Byron still had small debts when he wrote this letter, but that does not seem to be the main reason he demanded more money from his publisher. He states in March 1819, “although I am in cash, that is no reason not to have more” (*BLJ* 6: 102). The fear of financial uncertainty after disposing of Newstead might, therefore, also have driven Byron to ask for more money for his poems during this period. As a matter of fact, the copyright money was the only financial source that Byron could earn at his will, and he was always writing something after he left England in 1816, which he justifies later to John Hunt saying that composition is his habit (*BLJ* 10: 123).²²⁸

Even though the first two cantos of *Don Juan* had already been published on July 15, 1819, Byron had still not received the copyright money for it by early September

²²⁸ The only time Byron was not occupied with writing anything was a period of about seven months in early 1822, which will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

1819. In a letter to Kinnaird dated September 4, Byron writes, “Remit Murray’s Don Juan money—it must be nigh due” (*BLJ* 6: 221). Murray made the offer of the copyright money for *Mazeppa* and the first two cantos of *Don Juan* on July 16, as we can see in his letter (*LJM* 276), and it seems that Hobhouse received it sometime in July 1819 after the publication of *Don Juan* (*LJM* 278n9), but it was at least several more months before Byron finally received 2,000 guineas, the copyright money of the two poems (500 guineas for *Mazeppa* and 1,500 guineas for *Don Juan*).²²⁹

It seems that Byron, in 1820, did not spend as much time writing as he had done in the previous years. This is partly because he was much preoccupied with his liaison with Teresa Guiccioli, a countess who was a dozen years younger than Byron, as her regular “*cavalier servente*, or a sanctioned lover” (Jump 39).²³⁰ At the end of 1819, Byron moved his residence from Venice to Ravenna, following Teresa. In February 1820, Byron moved into the upper floor of the Palazzo Guiccioli, Count Guiccioli’s House (*Biography* 2: 838-39), and continued the love affair with Teresa. In addition, Byron became involved in Italian politics in 1820 through Teresa’s family, which also contributed to the relatively little writing Byron began in 1820. Byron did complete Cantos 3, 4, and 5 of *Don Juan*, *Prophecy of Dante*, and *Marino Faliero* this year, and

²²⁹ It is not certain when Byron received the copyright money for the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, but judging from one of his letters to Kinnaird, he had at least received the money by December 9, 1819, because in a letter with that date he says that he would rather return the money to Murray if he wanted to publish *Don Juan* in Byron’s name (*BLJ* 6: 256). For the amount of the copyright money for each poem, see (*LJM* 278n9).

²³⁰ *Cavalier Servente* is also known as *cicisbeo* in Italia. This was “the professed gallant and lover of a married woman, who attended her at public entertainments, to church and other occasions and had privileged access to his mistress” (“Cicisbeo” par. 1). It was particularly in vogue in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italy.

he continued writing his *Memoir*. Among these works, however, Canto 5 of *Don Juan* and *Marino Faliero* were the only ones that Byron began writing in 1820; the others had already been begun in the previous year.²³¹ Therefore, the year 1820 was a unique year in that none of Byron's new works was available on the literary market. Byron also did not receive any copyright money from Murray at all this year because he was negotiating with Murray for more money for the poems that would be published in the next year.

The year 1821 witnessed the publication of six poems and verse dramas. In the first place, *Marino Faliero* and *Prophecy of Dante* were issued together in a volume on April 21, 1821. Then, Cantos 3, 4, and 5 of *Don Juan* were finally published in a volume on August 7, 1821. At the end of the year, *Sardanapalus*, *The Two Foscari*, and *Cain* were published together on December 19, 1821. Murray paid 1,000 guineas for these works.²³² There had been much conflict between Byron and Murray regarding the copyright money of *Don Juan*, in particular. Initially, Murray offered to pay 2,000 guineas for the cantos of *Don Juan* and two tragedies (*Sardanapalus* and *The Two Foscari*) in his letter of August 8, 1821 (*LJM* 411). But Byron rejected this offer immediately, saying “*Can't accept your courteous offer*” and wrote a lyric in his reply (*BLJ* 8: 187):

For Orford and for Waldegrave

²³¹ For instance, Byron had begun writing *Prophecy of Dante* in June 1819 and finished it in March 1820 (*BLJ* 7: 7). By October 26, 1819, Byron had already “written about a hundred stanzas of a third canto [of *Don Juan*]” (*BLJ* 6: 232), and he sent Cantos 3 and 4 to Murray on February 19, 1820 (*BLJ* 7: 7) and Canto 5 on December 28, 1820 (*BLJ* 7: 8). In October 1819, Byron sent part of his *Memoir* in Moore's hand (*BLJ* 6: 235).

²³² Murray first proposed to give 1,000 guineas for these poems on March 2, 1821 (*LJM* 386).

You give much more than me you *gave*

Which is not fairly to behave

My Murray!

Because if a live dog, 'tis said,

Be worth a Lion fairly sped,

A *live lord* must be worth *two* dead,

My Murray!

And if, as the opinion goes,

Verse hath a better sale than prose—

Certes, I should have more than those

My Murray!

But now—this sheet is nearly crammed,

So—if *you will*—I shan't be shammed,

And if you *wont*—*you* may be damned,

My Murray! (*BLJ* 8: 187)

Murray revised his first offer of 2,000 guineas for the aforementioned works and proposed to give 2,500 guineas for the addition of *Cain* in November 1821 (*LJM* 427).

Even though Byron had initially decided to accept the offer, as he states in a letter to Kinnaird dated November 28, 1821 (*BLJ* 9: 71), the next day he wanted the copyright money to be increased to three thousand guineas (*BLJ* 9: 72). Therefore, Byron earned at least 3,500 guineas for his literary works in 1821.

In spite of the scathing reviews of the first volume of *Don Juan* in numerous literary periodicals, the success of Cantos 3, 4, and 5 of *Don Juan* was immediate.

Smiles describes the poem's great success as follows:

The third, fourth, and fifth cantos were published together at the end of 1821, still without the name of either author or publisher. There was quite a rush for the work. The booksellers' messengers filled the street in front of the house in Albemarle Street, and the parcels of books were given out of the window in answer to their obstreperous demands. (413)

No matter how severely the first volume of *Don Juan* had been attacked by literary reviews, people still wanted to read the poem.

Francis Cohen made an important point about such an immoral poem as *Don Juan* in a letter to Murray sent a few days after the publication of the poem: "Don Juan must sell; Grave good people, pious people, regular people, all like to read about naughty people, & even wicked words, such as I must not write, do not really offend many very modest eyes" (qtd. in *LJM* 279).²³³ This paradoxical response from the readers of the first cantos also applied to the new cantos. In addition, Byron's expectations about the sale of the second installment of *Don Juan* proved right. He knew that the new cantos of *Don Juan* would sell immediately because there were existing customers who would be willing to buy it "to complete their sets," as he later points out (*BLJ* 8: 233).

²³³ Francis Cohen was "later Sir Francis Palgrave (1799-1861), a historian and barrister who adopted the name Palgrave on embracing both a wife and Christianity in 1823" (*LJM* 278-79).

A month after the successful publication of the second volume of *Don Juan*, Byron wrote a letter to Kinnaird. Here again we can see Byron's strikingly different attitude towards earning money from his writings:

Now you know how much Scott & Moore received for poems not exceeding in length six thousand or seven thousand line.—Campbell for his *prose* upon the *poets*—the same with them.—Orford & Waldegrave little less.—You can judge better than me—if my name has sunk below *theirs*—or if I should or should not be upon the same level.—Murray's proposal to me was *two thousand*—which to say the least of it—proves either *his or my* degradation. (*BLJ* 211-12)

In 1809, in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, Byron himself had criticized Scott for earning money from his poems, as discussed earlier in this chapter, but now Byron clearly thinks that the amount of copyright payments reflects the fame of the writer. In a sense, then, his economic needs aside, Byron sought to increase the copyright money for his poems in order to deny his lessening fame, which he knew had already been declining after his ungraceful separation from Lady Byron in 1816. Aside from the copyright money he earned with his pen, Byron's only other hope for income was to come from his wife's estate.

Byron had long been eagerly waiting for the death of Lady Noel, Lady Byron's mother. According to Marchand, “[b]y the terms of the separation settlement, the income from the Wentworth estates, which Lady Noel had inherited, estimated at £10,000 a year (but actually less than £7,000) was to be divided by arbitrators at Lady Noel's death, one

to be appointed by each party” (*BLJ* 9: 105n1). Thus, Byron had even directed Kinnaird and Hobhouse in January 1819 to “put off the payments of [his] debts ‘till *after* Lady Noel’s death” (*BLJ* 6: 91). In addition to this, he often expressed his wish to hear of Lady Noel’s death. Here are some examples from which we can see how much Byron wanted her death: Byron states in a letter of July 1819 to Augusta that “[Lady Noel’s] death would do too much good” (*BLJ* 6: 171); Byron asked Kinnaird to “ask Lady Noel not to live so very long” in his letter dated October 26, 1819 (*BLJ* 6: 232); Byron states to Hobhouse in a letter dated September 21, 1820, after being notified of her illness by Murray, “the Lady will not die—her living does too much ill—You’ll see she’ll recover and bury her betters—the bitch!” (*BLJ* 7: 179).

Byron’s last financial hope was to receive an annual income from Lady Noel’s property after her death, except for the occasional copyright payments from his publisher, so it was clearly important to Byron to see Lady Noel’s death as soon as possible. Lady Noel finally passed away on January 28, 1822, and Byron was notified of her death on February 15, 1822 (Blann 98). Interestingly, the first thing that Byron wanted Kinnaird to do after being informed of her death was to “*insure Lady Byron’s* life for [him]—for *ten thousand* pounds—or . . . for *six thousand* pounds” (*BLJ* 9: 105).²³⁴ Byron surely wanted to gain some money from this sorrowful event, which was a shrewd but cold-hearted response to the death of his mother-in-law. Moreover, Byron began to use “Noel

²³⁴ Later in October 1822, Byron wanted Kinnaird to “increase the insurance on Lady B’s life to 15000” (*BLJ* 10: 20).

Byron” as his signature at the end of letters from this time and asked Kinnaird to “send [him] out a Seal and directions about the *Noel* arms” (*BLJ* 9: 107).

Around the time of Lady Noel’s death, during the first half of 1822, none of Byron’s works was published, but it is certain that he was writing even during this period since he had begun such works as *The Vision of Judgment* and *Heaven and Earth* in the previous year. Nevertheless, Byron must not have spent much time in writing, judging from the lengths of the works in which he was engaged during this period. Byron left Ravenna in October and arrived in Pisa on November 1, 1821. In early 1822, while staying in Pisa, Byron spent most of his time with the Shelleys and other members of the so-called Pisan Circle talking about philosophy and politics.²³⁵ Unlike what Byron had thought about composition in the past, which he had once called a habit, he describes his thought about composition differently in January 1821:

. . . it [poetic inspiration] comes over me in a kind of rage every now and then . . . and then, if I don’t write to empty my mind, I go mad. As to that regular, uninterrupted love of writing, which you describe in your friend [Lord John Russell, who claimed to enjoy writing], I do not understand it. I feel it as a torture, which I must get rid of, but never as a pleasure. On the contrary, I think composition a great pain. (qtd. in Blann 101)²³⁶

²³⁵ “[T]he Shelleys, according to Kenneth Neill Cameron, “moved from the baths to Pisa, and from October 29, 1820, with the exception of a visit to Byron at Ravenna in August 1821, they resided continuously either at Pisa or the baths until the spring of 1822” (78).

²³⁶ This is from a letter to Moore, which can be found in *BLJ* (8: 55).

As Byron states, composition was no longer an enjoyable pastime activity for him, even from early 1821. It is certain that the presence of the intellectual community composed of Percy Shelley and other members of the Pisan Circle in 1822 served as an alternative outlet for Byron to empty out his thoughts, so he did not feel the need to write as strongly as at other times, which can partially explain the relatively small amount of time that Byron spent on composition during this period. Moreover, Byron had already promised Countess Guiccioli in July 1821 not to continue *Don Juan* (*Biography* 3: 988). And from another perspective, Byron's expectation of getting money from Lady Noel's property possibly relieved him, at least psychologically, from financial pressures in 1822, which could be counted as another reason for the lack of noticeable literary achievements in early 1822.

Although Byron had not made any money from his writings in the first half of 1822, he did not consider himself as being short of money in the second half of the year. According to Byron's own statement, he had 3,500 guineas in his bank in October 1822 and thought that he could live on "the odd 500 guineas before J[anua]ry," "leav[ing] a surplus of 3000" (*BLJ* 10: 20). Nevertheless, he repeatedly emphasized in his letters to his friends that he was economizing. For example, Byron states in a letter to Kinnaird dated October 27, "I am economizing—[by] hav[ing] sold three horses and pay[ing] all bills in person—keeping a sharp look out—on the candle's ends" (*BLJ* 10: 19-20).²³⁷

Byron still desired to liquidate his remaining debts during this period, but he first wanted

²³⁷ For some records of domestic expenditures kept by Byron's servant during 1822 and 1823, see Doris Moore, especially chapters 11 and 12. For another letter in which Byron emphasizes his economizing habit, see *BLJ* (10: 60).

to have enough money in his hands. He states in September 1822, “[i]t is my intention when assets are at a certain height—to liquidate the remaining debt [of approximately 2,000 guineas] but it is best to have double fund in hand first” (*BLJ* 10: 42). Byron wanted to “reserve [some money] for the expence of living &c” (*BLJ* 10: 42). Therefore, Byron sought more money from his writings in this situation.

Byron complained about Murray’s offers for the copyright payments for his poems more and more as time went by, and finally their long-term relationship reached a crisis. For example, in January 1822, Byron even wanted to send such works as *The Vision of Judgment*, *Cain*, and *Werner* to Galignani in Paris to gain more copyright money (*BLJ* 9: 93); Byron did not do so, but *Werner* (published on November 23, 1822) would be the last of Byron’s works that Murray published.²³⁸ About a month before the publication of *Werner*, Murray expressed his concern about Byron’s association with the radical Leigh Hunt and tells Byron, “[y]ou see the result of being forced into contact with wretches who take for granted that every one must be as infamous as themselves—really Lord Byron it is dreadful to think upon your association with such outcasts from society” (*LJM* 455). Murray sent this letter to Byron about two weeks after the publication of *The Vision of Judgment* (published on October 15, 1822 in the *Liberal*), which was an open attack on the late King George III and Southey, the Poet Laureate of the time. John Hunt, the publisher of the *Liberal*, was eventually prosecuted for publishing *The Vision of Judgment* in the first issue of the journal. Given Byron’s recent

²³⁸ A letter dated March 6, 1822, shows that Byron’s anger with Murray had subsided, and he asked Kinnaird to send *Werner* to Murray (*BLJ* 9: 120), but Byron continues to ask Kinnaird about the copyright payments from Murray in a number of letters. For some examples, see *BLJ* (10: 99; 155).

alignment with these radical publishers, Murray would be hesitant to take any risk, such as publishing Byron's newest works, that might endanger his business. Furthermore, the three new cantos of *Don Juan* (cantos 6, 7, and 8) that he had recently received contained radical content that criticized the current regime and urged radical insurrection, as discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, Murray writes to Byron in a very strong tone, "I would not publish [the new cantos of *Don Juan*]—if you would give me your estate—Title—& Genius" (*LJM* 455). Byron eventually bid a final farewell to Murray in a letter dated November 6, 1822, thereby ending his business relationship with Murray.²³⁹

For almost eight months after ending his relationship with Murray as a publisher, Byron asked Kinnaird to look for "some other bookseller for the publication [of six cantos of *Don Juan*]" (*BLJ* 10: 24).²⁴⁰ Even though Byron had had John Hunt in mind as a candidate to publish *Don Juan* since October 1822,²⁴¹ his hesitation to do so was mainly because "he ha[d] no Capital" and Byron thought "it is always better to sell the Copyright" (*BLJ* 10: 58; 53). As Blann points out, "[t]his financial concern may at least partially explain why Byron was so slow in cutting the last strings of his relationship with Murray in spite of the numerous negative factors" (113). Judging from the list of future income that Byron calculates in January 1823, the copyright payments for Murray were a significant part of his whole income:

²³⁹ Byron sent two letters to Murray announcing his farewell, for these see *BLJ* (10: 28; 36). For the list of Byron's works that Murray gave to John Hunt, see *LJM* 443.

²⁴⁰ By this time, Byron had already completed cantos 6 to 12.

²⁴¹ Byron states to Murray that "Mr. J[ohn] Hunt is most likely the publisher of the new Cantos" (*BLJ* 10: 69).

Kirkby ²⁴²	3168
My own	2715
From Murray	2100
Supposed Surplus	
of my own of this	
year	2000
half year <i>not</i>	
favoured by the	
defunct	<u>1500</u>
11483 (<i>BLJ</i> 10: 85)	

Although Byron had mentioned the possibility of choosing John Hunt as the publisher of *Don Juan* several times,²⁴³ it must have been a difficult decision for him to choose John Hunt as his official publisher since Byron had already realized that “every guinea is a philosopher’s stone” (*BLJ* 9: 113). Therefore, “[Byron] was still hoping that Kinnaird could get some publisher to buy the copyright [of *Don Juan*]” (*BLJ* 10: 23n1). Moreover, Byron knew much about the publishing business, and he was certainly well-aware of the fact that a copyright contract gave the publisher an exclusive right to publish a title for twenty-eight years, which was surely one of the pretexts for him to ask

²⁴² Upon Lady Noel’s death, Byron came to possess half share of the rent of the Kirkby estate. But by April 14, 1823, as he writes to Kinnaird, Byron had only received part of the rent. He states, “I have now been a year and [a] quarter in possession of Kirkby & we have received nine hundred pounds! Out of a (stated as available) rental of six thousand three hundred and thirty six pounds per annum” (*BLJ* 10: 150).

²⁴³ For examples, see *BLJ* (10: 134; 158). The Copyright Act of 1709 limited publishers’ exclusive rights over publications to fourteen years. This was changed by the publishing industry’s tenacious lobby in 1808, which extended the copyright to twenty-eight years (*RNRP* 208). It was only a few days before the actual publication of cantos 6, 7, and 8 of *Don Juan* that Byron gave his final decision to John Hunt.

his publisher to pay a large amount of copyright money.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Byron did not accept John Hunt's copyright offer because, as he states, "[Hunt] had no capital, and if he could not pay—nevertheless I would not prosecute a poor man to make him poorer" (*BLJ* 10: 70). Instead, Byron and Hunt eventually agreed upon a profit-sharing contract for the remaining cantos of *Don Juan*, which would be published on July 15, 1823 (Cantos 6-8), on August 29, 1823 (Cantos 9-11), on December 23, 1823 (Cantos 12-14), and on March 26, 1824 (Cantos 15-16).²⁴⁵ Byron offered a third of the profit for John Hunt's portion for the publication of the remaining cantos of *Don Juan*, but "[John] Hunt kept to his original proposal of 15 per cent" (*BLJ* 10: 182n1).

There were several benefits of Byron's decision not to take copyright money from John Hunt and not to sell the copyrights of *Don Juan* and other works published in *The Liberal*. There was an immediate effect of lowering the prices of the new cantos of *Don Juan* and thereby making them available to a wide range of readers.²⁴⁶ At the same time, Byron could have another chance to sell the copyrights later by retaining them. Indeed, Byron once said to Kinnaid in February 1823, "[i]t is my intention to collect my own poems out of the liberal—and publish them in one volume" (*BLJ* 10: 109).²⁴⁷ Byron

²⁴⁴ For Byron's letters mentioning the copyright law, see *BLJ* (10: 96; 110; 134).

²⁴⁵ For the dates, see Blann 114. Byron once stated that he would make *Don Juan* a hundred cantos in time (*BLJ* 10: 149-50), but the sixteenth canto became the last one published. According to Marchand, "[o]n the 8th [of May 1823] [Byron] began a seventeenth canto, but wrote only fourteen stanzas before he left for Greece. . . . These stanzas were first published in E. H. Coleridge's edition in 1903" (*Biography* 3: 1068n9).

²⁴⁶ Cantos 6, 7, and 8 of *Don Juan* were published in a volume, which was issued in three different sizes, as discussed in section 4 of chapter 4 of this dissertation. The smallest edition, the so-called "common edition," was sold at 1 shilling.

²⁴⁷ Byron contributed nine works including *The Vision of Judgment*, *Heaven and Earth*, and *The Blues*, 168 pages in total, to the *Liberal* for its four issues (Marshall 238-39).

must have considered doing so because he thought “[t]he Liberal was a bad business” (*BLJ* 10: 114), but this could mean a chance of another copyright contract with a different publisher for Byron. Thus, doing business with John Hunt did not mean a total loss of copyright money for Byron, at least in some sense. Additionally, he had some ready cash in his hands during this period, which also contributed to Byron’s generosity towards John Hunt and the apparent lack of concern about not making money from the publication of *Don Juan*. In the end, the copyrights of the poems included in *The Liberal* and other short poems were sold to Murray after Byron’s death on July 16, 1830 as we can see from the Assignment of Copyright agreement housed in John Murray Archive, NLS. Murray paid a total sum of £3,885 for 65 short and long poems after Byron’s death.²⁴⁸

After writing eleven cantos of *Don Juan* (cantos six to sixteen) “in about one calendar year—roughly from mid-April 1822 to early May 1823” (Blann 115), “Byron was fully occupied with the Greek business” by May 1823 (*Biography* 3: 1068). From this time until his death, Byron did not write anything for publication. As Marchand states, “Byron [later] justified his poetic inactivity by the fiction that he was now occupied with practical politics. ‘Poetry,’ he told Pietro [Gamba], ‘should only occupy the idle. In more serious affairs it would be ridiculous’” (*Biography* 3: 1125). On May 12, 1823, Byron received “a letter from John Bowring, the Honorary Secretary of the Greek Committee, announcing that Byron had been elected a member and asking for his

²⁴⁸ For this manuscript, see MS.43557. John Murray Archive, NLS. I appreciate David McClay at NLS for providing this manuscript.

suggestions and advice” (*Biography* 3: 1069).²⁴⁹ A short time later, in July 1823, Byron left for Greece, and he died of fever on April 19, 1824, while actively engaged in the Greek War of Independence.

Even before Byron became involved in the Greek Committee in May 1823, he knew that money is the “Sinews of War” (*BLJ* 10: 114). Byron gave all the money he had to the new Greek government. As a matter of fact, the Greek government thought of Byron as a good financial resource to support the war. For example, as Marchand points out, “[o]n the 30th [1824] the Primates presented Byron with the citizenship of the town. It was a fine document in the most flourishing Greek, signed by all the notables. But it was only preliminary to a new request for money (*Biography* 3: 1024). Byron’s willingness to spend his money in the Greek cause is well-expressed in his last letter to Kinnaird, written on March 30, 1824:

The Greek Cause up to this present writing hath cost me of mine own monies about thirty thousand Spanish dollars *advanced*, without counting my own contingent expences of every kind. It is true, however, that every thing would have been at a stand still in Messalonghi [*sic*] if I had not done so. Part of this money, more particularly the 4000 £ advanced, and guaranteed by the Gk Deputies is, or ought to be, repaid. To this you will look, but I shall still spend it in the Cause, for I have some hundred men under my command, regularly paid and pretty men enough. (*BLJ* 11: 144)

²⁴⁹ This letter was forwarded by Hobhouse on April 29 (*Biography* 3: 1069).

In the same letter, Byron states, “I am willing to do anything that may be useful [to the Greek Cause]” (*BLJ* 11: 145). At the time of his death, therefore, we see yet another Byron, strikingly different from the one who angrily negotiated with his publisher for more copyright money. At the end of his life, he was a hero fighting for Greek Independence.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As shown in this dissertation, we should not forget that Byron's *Don Juan*, whether in spite of its immoral and radical contents or because of these, was the most frequently discussed work during the British Romantic period after the publication of its first two cantos in 1819. Furthermore, judging from the publisher's sales figures for the poem, *Don Juan* was also highly sought after by many readers during the Victorian era. The initial responses to the poem from literary reviews were not simply unfavorable. Rather, it is more correct to say that the poem was severely attacked by reviews which had the power to guide the reading public's purchasing decision in the literary market. Nevertheless, *Don Juan* became one of the best-selling poems, along with Byron's other poems, both during and after the Romantic period. Furthermore, in the case of *Don Juan*, the authorized publisher's decision regarding the size and the price of the publication of the poem, which was surely influenced by the socio-political milieu of the time, worked as a decisive role in the expansion of the readership of the poem as discussed in chapter II. This clearly shows that outside influences as well as textual meanings can affect a reception of a literary work. In this light, Thomas Adams and Nicholas Barker's "A New Model for the Study of the Book" is useful.²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ For a summary of the model, see Adams and Barker, 14. This model is an upgraded version of Robert Darnton's model of a circuit of communication proposed in *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (112). Unlike Darnton's model, which places social elements in the center and human agents, such as author, publisher, bookseller, readers, and others, in the outer circle, Adams and Barker's model "inverts the relative importance of material artefact and human practice" (Howsam 32).

Adams and Barker's model highlights "five events in the life of a book—publishing, manufacturing, distribution, reception and survival" (Howsam 35). This dissertation is an attempt to explore the dynamics of meaning formation of *Don Juan* by paying attention to these events in the historical and political background of the British Romantic period. Adams and Barker's model also puts an emphasis on several elements that affect each of the five events in the life of a book. These are "political, legal, and religious influences," "commercial pressures," "social behaviour and taste," and "intellectual influences" (14). Therefore, I argue, every stage of the creation, production, and reception of *Don Juan* was also highly affected by these non-textual elements surrounding the text, the book, and the human agents related to the life of *Don Juan*.

Murray's decision regarding the size and the price of the first volume of *Don Juan*, a luxurious quarto-sized edition, was made in reaction against the suppressive political mood in Britain in the late 1810s when the government censorship of printed matters was reaching its height. Murray was only one of many publishers whose major interest was always making greater profits from their business. He knew the publishing business and its market as well as, if not better than, anyone else during the time, and he had to be extremely careful in order not to ruin his business by making any such mistakes as dealing with works that could be caught by government censorship, which was common in the British Romantic period. This self-protective measure eventually drew much attention from radical publishers and public readers, and it backfired when *Don Juan* was placed at the center of people's attention soon after its first appearance in the literary market. The existence of a number of imitations and false continuations of

Don Juan, as Chew lists in *Byron in England*, clearly proves the enormous popularity of the work and the poet in the nineteenth century.

Despite the immoral and blasphemous contents of the first five cantos, upon which most of the first reviews of the poem focused their criticism, *Don Juan* was, strictly speaking, not politically radical. One of the more radical parts, the preface to the first volume (containing the first and second cantos), was suppressed by the poet himself. Therefore, Byron's attack in the preface on Wordsworth for his betrayal of his early radical politics was not available when the first two cantos were published in 1819. Furthermore, the most politically radical part in the first volume of *Don Juan*, the "Dedication," was not officially published until 1833. Thus, the earliest readers of *Don Juan* read the poem without the preface and the dedication during the entire Romantic period. Nevertheless, Byron's association with the radical publisher Leigh Hunt, who defended the poet and the poem in his review in the *Examiner*, added political meaning to the poem never intended by the poet. In addition, a number of radical publishers, such as Hone, Carlile, and Benbow, took advantage of the public interest in the poem and issued piratical editions or imitations of *Don Juan*, which also added a politically-radical coloring to the seemingly non-political content of the early cantos (cantos 1 to 5). In particular, this dissertation has paid greater attention to Hone's role in radicalizing the early cantos of *Don Juan*, which also afflicted the conservative official publisher for some time as we have seen from the letter of Murray's legal adviser's.

The meaning of a text, once it leaves the author's hand, therefore, cannot simply be determined by the author's original intention for the work. Rather, the text as a

material book comes to have meanings that were unpredicted and unintended by the author. In the case of *Don Juan*, both the decisions of its official publisher regarding the forms of publication and the influence of other unauthorized radical publishers surely affected and diversified the meaning of the original text. In 1822, for example, an Oxonian even came to treat Byron as one of the radical triumvirate, along with Thomas Paine and William Lawrence, that shook the stability of conservative British society. Thus, *Don Juan*, from the publication of its first two cantos, was treated as a poem affiliated with the political radicalism of the time.

When Byron resumed writing *Don Juan* in July 1822 after a hiatus of one and a half years, we could see that his political stance had developed from liberalism to radicalism, which was clearly expressed in the new cantos of *Don Juan*, beginning with the sixth canto. Byron became much more straightforward in his attacks on political tyranny in the poem, and the poem was often regarded as a radical writing along with Shelley's *Queen Mab*, which was considered the Chartists' Bible in the 1820s. Percy Shelley's influence upon the intellectual, philosophical, and political ideas of Byron should not be treated as trivial because Shelley planned and wrote such works as *A Philosophical View of Reform* and *A Defence of Poetry* during the time he spent with Byron. As shown in chapter three of this dissertation, there are also significant similarities in the radical content of the new cantos of *Don Juan* and Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*. The new cantos of *Don Juan* were not lacking in politically-radical content and deserved to be called a radical political propaganda for urging political insurrection

among the oppressed and threatening the status quo. In other words, beginning with the sixth canto written in 1822, *Don Juan* was in and of itself a radical poem.

In addition, Byron tried new experiments with the publication of the later cantos of *Don Juan*. After having had several conflicts with his publisher, Byron had long considered ending his business relationship with Murray, and he finally chose John Hunt as his publisher for his later works before leaving for Greece to fight for her independence. Byron's sense of artistic freedom away from the conservative publisher and his will to fight against tyranny are well-demonstrated, not only in his later works including the new cantos of *Don Juan* and *The Vision of Judgment*, but also in the numerous letters and journals he wrote during the period. Byron even tried to experiment with the publication of the new cantos of *Don Juan* by seeking different publishers for each volume of the new cantos and urging John Hunt to publish the new cantos in different sizes and at different prices at the same time. The latter experiment eventually resulted in the price of *Don Juan* being reduced even to one shilling. Due in part to this experiment with the prices and sizes of the new cantos of *Don Juan*, John Hunt would sell almost 90% of the entire production of the poem within the year of publication, as explored in chapter four of this dissertation. In considering both the textual contents and the material forms of the publication of the newest cantos of *Don Juan*, we see a new, radical *Don Juan* emerge.

Another important factor that highly influences the meaning and destiny of a literary work is economic logic, although it is invisible to readers of a work of art. For example, the economic concerns and conditions of the author, the publisher, and the

reader should not be ignored in the interpretation of a literary work because an artistic product can take different meanings and shapes depending on the various concerns of the meaning-generating agent in each stage. In other words, a literary work might be lengthened or shortened in response to the author's or the publisher's different financial interests in it, and readers could make different purchasing decisions according to their economic situations. This kind of economic logic can be applied to each stage of the creation, production, circulation, and consumption of *Don Juan* as well. This dissertation has paid particular attention in chapter V to the author's economic logic and financial condition in relation to his attitude towards the profits from the copyright money for his artistic products.

Basically, Byron's attitude towards the profits from his poems shifted from an aristocratic nonchalance early in his career, as we can see from the example of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and *Corsair*, the copyright money for which Byron gave to Dallas, the author's cousin. Byron expressed his resolution not to accept any profits from his writings in letters to his friends. It was against his social status as a noble lord to take money from his poetic labor. This initial refusal to accept literary profits began to be compromised with such poems as *The Giaour* and *Bride of Abydos*. That is, after the initial rejection of the copyright money for these poems, Byron finally accepted the money when his financial situation became desperate. Even though Byron received other copyright payments from his publisher during his stay in England before leaving the country in April 1816, Byron had not strongly claimed his right to the copyright money from his poems. His letters reveal that he was rather passive with regard to the copyright

money issue at this time. However, this ambiguous attitude soon changed drastically and developed into that of a professional writer. We see a different Byron asking Kinnaird, his friend and financial advisor, to negotiate with his publisher to get more money for the copyrights of his poems. This change in Byron's attitude towards making profits from his poems culminated in his negotiations for the copyright money of the new cantos of *Don Juan*. Considering how Byron's attitude towards the copyright issue and money in general changed while he was staying abroad, this dissertation has shown the relationship between Byron's financial situations and his attitudes towards accepting copyright money for his poems.

Through the examination of Byron's *Don Juan* within the larger context of its publication history, we see that it is necessary to employ a variety of perspectives when studying literary works born into a specific historical time and place. It is not merely the textual meaning of a literary work that decides the overall meaning of the book that contains the text. By studying the complicated but rich publication history of *Don Juan*, we see how historical moments and events significantly affected the meaning of the poem. Thus, *Don Juan* is an excellent historical lens through which we can better view the history, politics, society, culture, and other aspects of the British Romantic period and its author Lord Byron.

WORKS CITED

- Adams, Thomas and Nicholas Barker. "A New Model for the Study of the Book." *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*. 2nd ed. Ed. Nicholas Barker. London: The British Library, 2001. 5-44. Print.
- Altick, Richard D. *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1957. Print.
- "An Assignment of Copyright Agreement Between John Cam Hobhouse and John Murray." Dated. July 16, 1830. Item number MS. 43557 in John Murray Archive in National Library of Scotland.
- Baker, John Haydn. "Wordsworth Erased." *Browning and Wordsworth*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated UP, 2004. 92-116. Print.
- . *Browning and Wordsworth*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated UP, 2004. Print.
- Bateson, Frederick Wilse. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature: Index*. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966. Print.
- Beaty, Frederick. *Byron the Satirist*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois UP, 1985. Print.
- Beckett, John. *Byron and Newstead: The Aristocrat and the Abbey*. London: Associated UP, 2001. Print.
- Bennett, Andrew. *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. Print.
- Bennett, Scott. "John Murray's Family Library and the Cheapening of Books in Early Nineteenth Century Britain." *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976): 139-66..

Bent, Robert. *The London Catalogue of Books, with their Sizes, Prices, and Publishers.*

Containing the Books Published in London, and those Altered in Size or Price,

Since the Year 1810 to February 1831. London: Robert Bent, 1831. *Google*

Books. Web. 17 Dec. 2010.

Blann, Robinson. *Throwing the Scabbard Away: Byron's Battle against the Censors of*

Don Juan. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. Print.

Blessington, Marguerite. *Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington.*

London: Henry Colburn, 1834. *Google Books.* Web. 11 Aug. 2010.

Bowden, Ann. *William Hone's Political Journalism, 1815-1821.* Diss. U of Texas at

Austin, 1975. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1976. AAT 7614419. *ProQuest.* Web. 12 March

2010.

Brannigan, John. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism.* New York: St. Martin's

Press, 1998. Print.

Brinton, Crane. *Political Ideas of the English Romanticists.* New York: Russell &

Russell, 1962. Print.

Browning, Robert. *Bells and Pomegranates.* No. 7. Dramatic Romances & Lyrics.

London: Moxon, 1845. Print.

"Byromania." Item number MS. 43770 in John Murray Archive in National Library of

Scotland.

Byron. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Canto the Fourth.* London: John Murray, 1818.

Google Books. Web. 15 Sept. 2010.

- . *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. London: John Murray, 1816. *Google Books*. Web.
12 May 2010.
- . *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. London: John Murray, 1818. *Google Books*. Web.
12 May 2010.
- . *Don Juan*. Illustration by Frederick Gilbert. London: J. Dicks, undated. Print.
(Shelfmark: Johnson d.3661 at Bodleian Library, Oxford University).
- . *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; A Satire*. London: James Cawthorn, 1809.
Google Books. Web. 11 May 2010.
- . *The Parliamentary Speeches of Lord Byron*. London: Rodwell and Martin, 1824.
Google Books. Web. 19 July 2010.
- . "The Prose Preface to *Don Juan*." transcribed by Peter Cochran on 31 May 1997,
sent in a correspondence to Virginia Murray: John Murray (MS. 43370).
- . *The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals*. Ed. Rowland E. Prothero. Vol. 6.
London: John Murray, 1901. Print.
- Cameron, Kenneth Neill. *Shelley: The Golden Years*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1974.
Print.
- Cardwell, Richard A., ed. *The Reception of Byron in Europe*. 2 vols. New York:
Continuum, 2004. Print.
- Carpenter, Humphrey. *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing
Dynasty, 1768-2002*. London: John Murray, 2008. Print.
- Chandler, James. *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of
Romantic Historicism*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. Print.

- . *Wordsworth's Second Nature: A Study of Poetry and Politics*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984. Print.
- Chew, Samuel. *Byron in England: His Fame and After-fame*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965. Print.
- . "The Pamphlets of the Byron Separation." *Modern Language Notes* 34.3 (1919): 155-62. *JSTOR*. Web. 11 Nov. 2010.
- Christensen, Jerome. *Lord Byron's Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993. Print.
- Cline, Clarence Lee. *Byron, Shelley, and Their Pisan Circle*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1952. Print.
- Cochran, Peter. *Byron and Bob: Lord Byron's Relationship with Robert Southey*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010. Print.
- . *Byron and Women [And Men]s*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholarly Publishing, 2010. Print.
- , ed. "Byron's Library: The Three Book Sale Catalogues." *Peter Cochran's Website*. Web. 22 Feb. 2010. PDF file.
- . "Byron's Poems about Poets." *Peter Cochran's Website*. Web. 23 July 2011. PDF file.
- . "Did Byron Take Money for His Early Poems?" *The Byron Journal* 31 (2003): 72-76. Print.
- . "Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte." Message to the author. 21 June 2011. Email.

- . Review of *Byron and Newstead* by John Beckett. *Peter Cochran's Website*. Web. 24 May 2011. PDF file.
- , ed. "William Hone: *Don Juan*, Canto the Third (1820)." *Peter Cochran's Website*. Web. 13 May 2010. PDF file.
- Colbert, Benjamin. *Shelley's Eye: Traveling Writing and Aesthetic Vision*. England: Ashgate Publishing, 2005. Print.
- Coleridge, Ernest Hartley, ed. *The Works of Lord Byron: A New, Revised and Enlarged Edition with Illustrations*. Vol. 6. London: John Murray, 1903. Print.
- Colligan, Colette. "The Unruly Copies of Byron's *Don Juan*: Harems, Underground Print Culture, and the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 59.4 (2005): 458-59. *JSTOR*. Web. 23 Nov. 2010.
- Cooper-Richet, Diana. *Galiganai*. Paris: Galiganai, 1999. Print.
- Cox, Jeffrey. *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt and their Circle*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.
- Croker, John Wilson. "Keat's *Endymion*." Rev. of *Endymion*, by John Keats. *The Quarterly Review* 19.37 (1818): 204-08. *Google Books*. Web. 24 April 2010.
- Cruse, Amy. *The Englishman and His Books: In the Early Nineteenth Century*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968. Print.
- "Currency Converter." *The National Archives*. Web. 22 Feb. 2011.
- Curwen, Henry. *History of Booksellers*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1873. *Internet Archive*. Web. 12 Oct. 2010.

- Dallas, Robert Charles. *Recollections of the Life of Lord Byron, from the Year 1808 to the End of 1814*. London: Charles Knight, 1824. *Google Books*. Web. 11 Aug. 2010.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990. Print.
- Duff, David. *Romance and Revolution: Shelley and the Politics of a Genre*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Print.
- Dyre, Gary. *British Satire and the Politics of Style, 1789-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. Print.
- Edwards, Richard. *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances*. London: R. Edwards, 1816. *Google Books*. Web. 22 May 2010.
- Eisler, Benita. *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame*. New York: Knop, 1999. Print.
- Elfenbein, Andrew. *Byron and the Victorians*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.
- Eliot, C. W. J. "Howe, Greece, and Byron's Helmet." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 10.2 (1992): 197-204. *Project Muse*. Web. 12 Nov. 2010.
- Elliott, Maud Howe. *Lord Byron's Helmet*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. Print.
- Erdman, David V. "Byron and the New Force of the People." *Keats-Shelley Journal* 11 (1962): 49-62. Print.
- . "The Dawn of Universal Patriotism: William Wordsworth Among the British in Revolutionary France." *The Age of William Wordsworth: Critical Essays of the Romantic Tradition*. Ed. Kenneth R. Johnston and Gene W. Ruoff. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1987. Print.

---. "Lord Byron." *Romantic Rebels*. Ed. Kenneth Cameron. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973. 161-202. Print.

Erickson, Lee. *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800-1850*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. Print.

---. "The Romantic-Era Book Trade." *A Concise Companion to the Romantic Age*. Ed. John P. Clancher. Chichester, U. K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Print.

Felluga, Dino. *The Perversity of Poetry: Romantic Ideology and the Popular Male Poet of Genius*. New York: State U of New York P, 2005. Print.

Foot, Michael. *The Politics of Paradise: A Vindication of Byron*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988. Print.

Forman, Harry Buxton. *The Vicissitude of Shelley's Queen Mab*. London: Privately Printed for Circulation, 1887. *Internet Archive*. Web. 22 Sept. 2010.

Foster, Vere, ed. *The Two Duchesses*. London: Blakie & Son Limited, 1898. *Google Books*. Web. 18 April 2010.

Gamer, Michael and Dahlia Porter, eds. *Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1800: Samuel Taylor Coleridge & William Wordsworth*. Toronto: Broadview Editions, 2008. Print.

Gilmartin, Kevin. *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. Print.

Gilmour, Ian. *The Making of the Poets: Byron & Shelley in Their Time*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003. Print.

Graham, Peter W. "Byron and the Business of Publishing." *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*. Ed. Drummond Bone. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 27-43. Print.

---, ed. *Byron's Bulldog: The Letters of John Cam Hobhouse to Lord Byron*. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1984. Print.

Grimes, Kyle. "William Hone, John Murray, and the Use of Byron." *Romanticism, Radicalism, and the Press*. Ed. Stephen Berhendt. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1997. 192-202. Print.

Gross, Jonathan. "Slaves of Passion: Byron and Steal on Liberty." *Liberty and Poetic Licence: New Essays on Byron*. Eds. Bernard Beatty et al. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2008. Print.

Hackwood, Frederick. *William Hone: His Life and Times*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1912. *Internet Archive*. Web. 10 Feb. 2011.

Heber, Reginald. "Lord Byron's Dramas." *The Quarterly Review* 27 (1822): 476-77. Print.

Hoagwood, Terence. *Politics, Philosophy, and the Production of Romantic Texts*. Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois UP, 1996. Print.

---. "Radical Triumvirate." Message to the author. 26 August 2010. Email.

---. *Skepticism & Ideology: Shelley's Political Prose and Its Philosophical Context from Bacon to Marx*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1988. Print.

Hoagwood, Terence and Kathryn Ledbetter. *"Colour'd Shadows": Contexts in Publishing, Printing, and Reading Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print.

Holmes, Richard. *Shelley: The Pursuit*. New York: New York Review Books, 1994.

Print.

Hone, Anne J. "William Hone (1780-1842), Publisher and Bookseller: An Approach to Early Nineteenth-Century London Radicalism." *Historical Studies* 16.62 (1974): 55-70. *Google Scholar*. Web. 23 Sept. 2010.

Hone, William. *'Don John,' or Don Juan Unmasked; Being A Key to the Mystery, Attending that Remarkable Publication; with A Descriptive Review of the Poem, and Extracts*. London: William Hone, 1819. *Google Books*. Web. 16. Oct. 2009.

---. *Facetiae and Miscellanies*. 2nd ed. London: William Hone, 1827. *Google Books*. Web. 12 Jan. 2010.

---. *The Three Trials of William Hone: for Publishing Three Parodies; viz. The Late John Wilkes's Catechism, Political Litany, and The Sinecurist's Creed*. London: William Hone, 1818. *Google Books*. Web. 10 April 2011.

Howsam, Leslie. *Old Books & New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Books and Print Culture*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2006. Print.

Humphrey, Richard. *Walter Scott-Waverley*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. Print.

Hunt, Leigh. "The Prince on St Patrick's Day." *The Examiner* 221 (March 22, 1812): 177-80. *Google Books*. Web. 17 Jan. 2011.

---. Preface. *The Mask of Anarchy*. By Percy Bysshe Shelley. London: Edward Moxon, 1832. v-xxx. *Google Books*. Web. 5 Dec. 2010.

- . "The Regent and the Examiner." *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries*. Vol. 2. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1850. 114-135. *Internet Archive*. Web. 11. Nov. 2010.
- . Rev. of *Don Juan* by George Gordon Byron. *The Examiner* (Oct. 1819): 700-02. Print.
- . "To the Right Honourable Lord Byron, on His Departure for Italy and Greece." *The Examiner* 45 (April 28, 1816): 266-67. Print.
- Hutchinson, Thomas, ed. *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. London: Oxford UP, 1912. Print.
- Isaac, Peter. "Byron's Publisher and His 'Spy': Constancy and Change among John Murray II's Printers." *The Library* (6th series) 19.1 (1997): 1-24. Print.
- Jack, Ian. "Byron: Too Sincere a Poet," *The Poet and His Audience*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984. 61-89. Print.
- Jeffrey, Francis. "Lord Byron's Tragedies." *The Edinburgh Review* 36 (1822): 446-52. *Google Books*. Web. 21 Jan. 2010.
- Jennings, Louis J., ed. *The Croker Papers*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1885. *Internet Archive*. Web. 17 May 2010.
- Johnston, Kenneth R. *The Hidden Wordsworth*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001. Print.
- Jones, Steven E. *Satire and Romanticism*. New York: St. Martin's P, 2000. Print.

- Jordan, John and Robert Patten. *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-century British Publishing and Reading Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. Print.
- Jump, John D. *Byron*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972. Print.
- Kelley, Philip and Ronald Hudson, eds. *The Brownings' Correspondence*. Vol. 1. London: Wedgstone, 1984. Print.
- Kelsall, Malcolm. *Byron's Politics*. Sussex: Harvester P, 1987. Print.
- Kent, David A. and D. R. Ewen, eds. *Regency Radical: Selected Writings of William Hone*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2003. Print.
- Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of the English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987. Print.
- Knight, Charles. *The Old Printer and the Modern Press*. London: John Murray, 1854. *Internet Archive*. Web. 8 Sept. 2010.
- Leader, Zachary. *Revision and Romantic Authorship*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1996. Print.
- Leeuwen, Jan Storm Van. "Bindings: Their Descriptions, Their Owners and Their Contents." *Eloquent Witnesses: Bindings and Their History*. Ed. Mariam M. Foot. New Castle: Oak Knoll P, 2004. Print.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart*. Vol. 3. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837. *Google Books*. Web. 18 April 2011.
- "Lord Byron in Greece." *Westminster Review* 2 (1824): 225-62. *Google Books*. Web. 12 April. 2010.

“Lord Byron’s *Mazeppa*, and *Don Juan*.” *The Monthly Review*, 89 (July 1819): 309-21.

Google Books. Web. 11 May 2010.

“Lord Byron’s Poetry.” Rev. of *Don Juan*. *The Edinburgh Monthly Review* 2 (1819):

468-86. *Google Books*. Web. 17 May 2010.

Luke, Hugh J., Jr. “The Publishing of Byron’s *Don Juan*.” *PMLA* 80.3 (1965): 199-209.

JSTOR. Web. 17 Aug. 2010.

Magnuson, Paul. *Reading Public Romanticism*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998. Print.

Manning, Peter J. “*Childe Harold* in the Marketplace: From Romaunt to Handbook.”

MLQ 52.2 (1991): 170-90. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 3 Oct. 2010.

---. *Reading Romantics: Text and Context*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. Print.

Marchand, Leslie. *Byron. A Biography*. 3 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. Print.

---, ed. *Byron’s Letters and Journals*. 13 vols. London: John Murray, 1973-94. Print.

---, ed. *Lord Byron: Selected Letters and Journals*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1982. Print.

Marshall, William H. *Byron, Shelley, Hunt, and the Liberal*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1960. Print.

Martin, Philip. *A Poet Before His Public*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982. Print.

Mason, Nicholas. “Building Brand Byron: Early-Nineteenth-Century Advertising and the Marketing of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*.” *Modern Language Quarterly* 63.4 (2002): 411-40. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 2 Sept. 2010.

McCalman, Iain. *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1988. Print.

McDayter, Ghislaine. *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture*. Albany: State U of New York P, 2009. Print.

McGann, Jerome, ed. *Lord Byron: The Complete Poetical Works*. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1980-92. Print.

---. *Don Juan in Context*. Chicago : U of Chicago P, 1976.

---. *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983. Print.

---. "What Differences do the Circumstances of Publication Make to the Interpretation of a Literary Work." *Byron and Romanticism*. Ed. James D. Soderholm. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002: 77-92. Print.

Mole, Tom. *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy*. New York: Palgrave, 2007. Print.

---. "Ways of Seeing Byron." *Byron the Image of the Poet*. Ed. Christine Kenyon Jones. Newark: U of Delaware P, 2008. 68-78. Print.

Moore, Doris Langley. *Lord Byron: Accounts Rendered*. London: John Murray, 1974. Print.

Moore, Thomas. *Life, Letters, and Journals of Lord Byron*. London: John Murray, 1838. *Google Books*. Web. 21 Sept. 2010.

Mozer, Hadley J. *Don Juan and the Advertising and Advertised Lord Byron*. Diss. Baylor U, 2003. An Arbor: UMI, 2003. AAT 3081137. *ProQuest*. Web. 12 March 2010.

“Mrs Rundell.” <http://www.persephonebooks.co.uk>. *Persephone Books*. Web. 11 April 2010.

Murray, John, IV. *Lord Byron and His Detractors*. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971. Print.

Nicholson, Andrew, ed. *The Letters of John Murray to Lord Byron*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2007. Print.

---. “Napoleon’s ‘last act’ and Byron’s Ode.” *Romanticism* 9.1 (2003): 68-81. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 11 Nov. 2010.

Oxonian. *The Radical Triumvirate, or, Infidel Paine, Lord Byron, and Surgeon Lawrence, Colleguing with the Patriotic Radicals to Emancipate Mankind from All Laws Human and Divine*. London: Francis Westley, 1820. Print.

Peck, Walter Edwin. *Shelley: His Life and Work 1817 to 1822*. Part. 2. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1927. Print.

Prothero, Rowland E., ed. *Letters and Journals*. Vol. 6. London: John Murray, 1904. Print.

Purinton, Marjean. *Romantic Ideology Unmasked: The Mentally Constructed Tyrannies in Dramas of William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Percy Shelley, and Joanna Baillie*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1994. Print.

Raymond, Dora Neil. *The Political Career of Lord Byron*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924. Print.

Reiman, Donald. *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*. Part B: 4. New York: Garland Publishing, 1972. Print.

“Remarks on *Don Juan*.” Rev. of *Don Juan*. *Blackwoods’ Edinburgh Magazine* 5

(1819): 512-18. *Google Books*. Web. 12 April 2010.

Rev. of *Don Juan*. *The British Critic* 12 (Aug. 1819): 195-205. *Google Books*. Web. 24

April 2010.

Rev. of *Don Juan*. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 89.2 (1819): 152. *Google Books*. Web. 16

May 2010.

Review of *Don Juan*. *Green Man* (July 17, 1819): 69. Print.

Review of *Don Juan*. *Literary Gazette* (July 17, 1819): 449-51. Print.

Review of *Don Juan*. *Literary Gazette* (July 24, 1819): 470-73. Print.

Review of *Don Juan*. *The Monthly Magazine* 48 (1819): 56-57. Print.

Reviews of *Don Juan*. *Literary Chronicle* (July 17, 1819): 129-30. Print.

Reviews of *Don Juan*. *Literary Chronicle* (July 24, 1819): 147-49. Print.

Roberts, Matt T. and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books*.

Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1982. Print.

Roberts, William. “*Don Juan*: A Poem.” Rev. of *Don Juan*. *British Review* 14

(1819): 266-68. Print.

Roe, Nicholas. *Fiery Heart: The First Life of Leigh Hunt*. London: Pimlico, 2005. Print.

Rose, Mark, *Authors and Owners: the Invention of Copyright*. Cambridge: Harvard

UP, 1993. Print.

Rowland, William G., Jr., *Literature and the Marketplace: Romantic Writers and Their*

Audiences in Great Britain and the United States. Lincoln: University of

Nebraska P, 1996. Print.

Ruston, Sharon. *Shelley and Vitality*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print.

Rutherford, Andrew, ed. "Ruskin on Byron 1841-86." *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge, 1970. Print.

Shaaban, Bouthania. "Shelley in the Chartist Press." *Keats Shelley Memorial Bulletin* 34 (1984): 41-60. Print.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe. "A Defence of Poetry." *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*. Ed. Mary Shelley. Vol. 1. London: Edward Moxon, 1840. *Google Books*. Web. 5 Dec. 2010.

---. *The Mask of Anarchy*. London: Edward Moxon, 1832. *Google Books*. Web. 5 Dec. 2010.

---. "Ode to Liberty," *Prometheus Unbound a Lyrical Drama in Four Acts, with Other Poems*. London: C and J Ollier, 1820. *Google Books*. Web. 5 Dec. 2010.

---. *A Philosophical View of Reform*. Ed. T. W. Rolleston. London: Oxford UP, 1920. Print.

Smiles, Samuel. *A Publisher and His Friends*. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1891. *Google Books*. Web. 12 Dec. 2010.

Southey, Charles Cuthbert, ed. *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*. 6 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850. Print.

Southey, Robert. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*. Vol. 10. London: Longman, 1838. Print.

- St Clair, William. "The Impact of Byron's Writings: An Evaluative Approach." *Byron: Augustan and Romantic*. Ed. Andrew Rutherford. New York: St. Martin's P, 1990. 1-25. Print.
- . *Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. Print.
- Stabler, Jane. *Byron, Poetics and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.
- Summers, Montague. "John Dicks, Publisher." *TLS* (7th Nov., 1942): 552. Print.
- Sutherland, John. *The Life of Walter Scott*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995. Print.
- Tanselle, Thomas G. *A Rational of Textual Criticism*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1989. Print.
- Thelwall, John. Review of *Don Juan, I-II*. *The Champion* (July 25, 1819) 472-73. Print.
- . Review of *Don Juan*. *European Magazine* 76 (1819): 53-56. Print.
- Thomas, Donald. *A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. Print.
- Thompson, E. P. "Disenchantment or Default? A Lay Sermon." *Power and Consciousness*. Ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien and William Dean Vanech. London: U of London Ltd., 1969. Print.
- . *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage Books, 1966. Print.
- Timperley, Charles Henry. *The Dictionary of Printer and Printing, with the Progress of Literature, Ancient and Modern*. London: H. Johnson, 1839. *Google Books*. Web. 21 Dec. 2010.
- Trueblood, Paul Graham. *The Flowering of Byron's Genius: Studies in Byron's Don Juan*. California: Stanford UP, 1945. Print.

Trussel, Steve. "Book Sizes." <http://www.trussel.com/books/booksize.htm>. *ElectiCity*.

Web. 01 Jan. 2011.

Wickwar, William H. *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press 1819-1832*. London:

George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1928. Print.

Wikipedia Contributors. "Cicisbeo." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Wikipedia, The

Free Encyclopedia, 30 May. 2011. Web. 5 Aug. 2011.

Wilson, Frances, ed. *Byromania: Portraits of the Artist in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-*

Century Culture. New York: St. Martin's P, 1999. Print.

Wise, Thomas James. *A Bibliography of the Writings in Verse and Prose of George*

Gordon Noel, Baron Byron. Vol. 2. London: Dawson of Pall Mall, 1972. Print.

Wolfson, Susan. *Romantic Interactions: Social Being and the Turns of Literary Action*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2010. Print.

Wood, Marcus. *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790- 1822*. Oxford: Clarendon P,

1994. Print.

Woodward, Ernest Llewellyn. *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870*. Oxford: Clarendon P,

1938. Print.

Wright, John, ed. "Dedication." *The Works of Lord Byron*. Vol. 15. London: John

Murray, 1832. Print.

Wright, William. *Don Juan, Canto the Third; Don Juan: with a Biographical Account of*

Lord Byron and His Family. Canto III; A New Canto. London: Printed for

William Wright, 1819. Print.

APPENDIX A

Copyright Payments for Byron's Works

YEAR PUBLISHED	TITLE	SUM (£)	DATE PAID ²⁵¹
1807	<i>Hours of Idleness</i>		
1809	<i>English Bards and Scotch Reviewers</i>		
1812	<i>Childe Harold</i> , I. II. *.....	525#	April 14, 1812
1813	<i>The Giaour</i>	525	May 24, 1814#
	<i>Bride of Abydos</i>	525	May 24, 1814#
1814	<i>Corsair</i> *.....	525	Jan. 4, 1814
	<i>Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte</i>	1,050‡	May 14, 1814
	<i>Lara</i>	700	Aug. 5, 1814
1815	<i>Hebrew Melodies</i>		
1816	<i>Siege of Corinth & Parsina</i>	1,050	March 29, 1816
	<i>Childe Harold</i> , III.	1,575	Jan. 1817
	<i>Prisoner of Chillon</i>	525	Dec. 1816
1817	<i>Manfred</i>	315	(June 16, 1817)
	<i>Lament of Tasso</i>	315	(July 17, 1817)
1818	<i>Beppo</i>	525	June 16, 1818 #**
	<i>Childe Harold</i> , IV.	2,100	June 16, 1818 #**
1819	<i>Mazeppa</i>	525	(July 16, 1819) #
	<i>Don Juan</i> , I. II.	1,575	(July 16, 1819)
1821	<i>Don Juan</i> , III. IV. and V.	1,525#	Dec. 1821
	<i>Marino Faliero</i>	1,050	April 21, 1821
	<i>& Prophecy of Dante</i>		
1821	<i>Sardanapalus, Two Foscari, Cain</i>	1,100#	Dec. 1821
	<i>Vision of Judgment</i>		
1822	<i>Werner; Deformed Transformed; Heaven and Earth, to which were added Hours of Idleness, English Bards, Hints from Horace, &c</i>	3,885 ***	July 16, 1830
	<i>Sundries</i>	450	
1822	<i>Don Juan</i> VI.-XI.		

This table is mainly based on two sources, Curwen, *History of Booksellers* (185-86) and Cochran and Beckett, "Byron's Finances" (29). Curwen used the table in *The Literary Gazette*. vol. 8. London: 1824 (710). Some of the dates by Cochran and Beckett and the amount of copyright payments by Curwen here are corrected by the author, and they were marked with #)

²⁵¹ If the payment date is not certain, I have provided the date of publication in parenthesis.

1823	<i>Age of Bronze, The Island</i>	July 16, 1830
	More cantos of <i>Don Juan</i>	
	Total.....	19,340 [20,365]****
	<i>Life</i> , by Thomas Moore.....	<u>4,200</u>
		23,540 [24,565]****

* The copyright payment was given to Dallas

‡ This is not included in the original table by Curwen. This was cashed July 28, 1814.

** Cochran and Beckett's dates seem incorrect (they used the publication date of each poem). Because Murray states that he would deposit a thousand guineas on June 16, 1818, and wanted to pay the remaining amount in sixty days payment (*LJM* 250), it is more reasonable to conclude that these two payments were made on June 16, 1818.

*** Murray paid 3,885 pounds to Hobhouse for small and long pomes (65 in all) including these and others.

**** The numbers in the square brackets are my corrections after adding £1,050 of copyright money for *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* and applying other corrections. Thus, the total sum of money Byron received for the copyrights for his poems is £15,430

APPENDIX B

A Summary of the Payments from Claughton's Deposit of £28,000 between 1812 and 1814 or Balance History of Byron's Hoare's Account

Amount received	Amount Paid	Paid to / for	Date
£5,000 (From Claughton)			Oct. 31, 1812
	£1,500	Scrope Davies	Nov. 10
	£1,500	Hanson	
		(deposit on the Rochdale tithes)*	Nov. 10
£50 (From J Green)			Nov. 26
	£2,135	a series of bills	the first six months (1813)
	net deficit £85		in June 1813
£7,500			July 19, 1813
£7,500			July 27, 1813
(£1,541)		the Rochdale tithe money	
		returned with interest	June 5 and 7 ²⁵²
	£4,500	Byron's withdrawal	July 10
	£2,840	Hanson (legal bills)	July 14
	£3,000	transferred to Byron's account	
		at Hammersley's	Aug 4
	£1,000	Augusta Leigh	August 16, 1813
	£1,000	Wedderburn Webster	October 1813
	£800	Scrope Davies	
	£1,275	William Fletcher for maintenance bills	
	£117 4s. 6d.	Owen Mealey	

²⁵² In June 1813, the £1,500 deposit on the Rochdale tithe returned with interest (Cochran "Byron's Finances," 3):

June 5	By Ws W Viney & J Hanson	110 7 10
7	By 200 Ex Bill d ^c 3 Feb at 3 Prem & Bro	203 9 2
	By 1200 do " 22 Dec at do & do	<u>1227 10 1</u>
		1541 7 1

	paid £13,963 (including unspecified others)		in the second half of 1813
	a credit balance of about £2,500 (including Rochdale money, 1,541)		
£5,000			in the first 6 months 1814
£3,000			
	£4,804	Scrope Davies	March 28, 1814**
	£3,000	Augusta	May 1814
£1,050 (from Murray)			May 28, 1814***
	£2,395	Bills and interest	
	account balance about £200		at the end of July 1814
=====			

This table is based on John Beckett's accounts in *Byron and Newstead* (186-87) and "Byron's Finances."

* "[This deposit] was returned with interest in June 1813" (Beckett *Newstead* 186)

** Also see *BLJ* 3: 255.

*** This is the copyright money of *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, which Beckett does not mention this at all.

VITA

Name: Jae Young Park

Address: Department of English
Texas A&M University
4227 TAMU
College Station, TX. 77843-4227

Email Address: skkutamu@gmail.com

Education: B.A., English, Sungkyunkwan University, 2000
M.A., English, Texas A&M University, 2004
Ph.D., English, Texas A&M University, 2011